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□ PAST & PRESENT

No. 16

December 1988/January 1989

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No.16

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Our cover illustration shows a reconstruction of a member of a German Army bombing squad, 1917 — see p.15. (Photo: Jonathan Gawne)

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EDITORIAL

Among first-time contributors to this issue we welcome **Peter Dervis**, currently a senior researcher at the Bettmann Archive in New York, and an independent consultant on the history of men's costume and military uniform. Born in Boston in 1953, Peter has collected militaria and reference sources since his adolescence, but began his professional involvement in the field as an intern in the Arms and Armor Dept. of The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1976. Professional appointments since then have included the Bostonian Society, the Duncan Collection in Paris (of which he was curator), and the American Museum of Immigration. Peter lives in Manhattan with his wife, who is a costume designer.

Allan Carswell, born in 1962 and educated in Glasgow, took up his first post in 1979 with the Scottish United Services Museum in Edinburgh Castle. Three years later he moved to the Royal Scottish Museum to work in the Design Dept., where he was closely involved in the design of exhibitions and publications. He returned in 1986 to the SUSM, whose new exhibition on the Scottish soldier over the past three centuries forms the background to his article. His special interests are the uniforms and the social history of the British Army, and particularly of the Scottish soldier.

The photographer of our cover this issue is **Jonathan Gawne**, a 'living history' enthusiast for over ten years and a photographer of such events for six years past; his work has appeared in many publications. Jonathan is a graduate in Education and Media

Technology, is a media specialist on the faculty of the Massachusetts College of Pharmacy; he has spent time as an intern in the Military History Dept. of the Smithsonian Institution. He divides his spare time between reenactment events, battlefield visits on the Continent, and duty as a training officer with the Massachusetts State Guard.

Not a first-timer, but a regular and valued field-hand, is our line artist **Christa Hook**, whose work has appeared many times. We are particularly grateful that Christa continues to make her talent for neat, clear schematics available to us, since her career as a professional illustrator has now carried her far beyond needing such workaday commissions. The daughter of 'MT' contributor Richard Hook, Christa was born in 1968, and left school at the age of 16 to be trained as an illustrator by her father. Her first published work appeared in the Osprey Men-at-Arms title on *The American Plains Indians*, written by her brother Jason, in 1985. She has since worked on various historical and children's books for British and Swedish publishers; and is currently engaged in a major project involving a series of 67 colour plates for a collection of classic fairy tales.

Errata

'MT' No. 14, p. 34, caption: the author asks us to correct our — not his — mistaken comment on the back-pack illustrated. This is the M1880 Blanket Bag; the Merriam knapsack was not normal issue but an (unpopular) novelty on trial by certain units. On p. 38, caption, the sergeant's hanging jacket in fact has white shoulder straps, not light blue.

In 'MT' No. 15, p. 21, the Fripp draw-



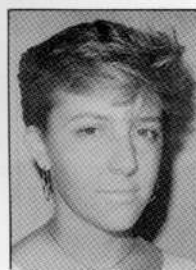
Peter Dervis



Jonathan Gawne



Allan Carswell



Christa Hook

ings are incorrectly printed in negative; we apologise to author Michael Barthorp, and to our readers, for this bizarre technical error.

Monkton Farleigh Mine

We are asked to draw attention to the efforts of a dedicated group of individuals who are seeking to preserve, maintain, and open to the public this extraordinary underground ammunition storage facility, built in total secrecy over seven years, and in use until the late 1960s. This huge complex, covering some 80 acres about 100 feet below the hills close to Bath, is one of the technical wonders of the Second World War. Interested readers should contact Derek Hawkins, Steve Williams and Nick McCamley on 0225-852400.

Crimean War Research Society

We have already recommended readers to this society, whose wide-ranging activities include publication

of information sheets and bibliographies, and a quarterly journal. Annual subscriptions are £6 (UK), \$14 (USA), and £9 (other overseas); cheques (made out to the Society, please) to David Cliff, the Society's secretary, at 33 East St., Triangle, Sowerby Bridge, W. Yorks HX6 3PA. The CWRS is currently running an essay competition on the subject of Balaclava.

Great War Society

Paul Hannon asks us to print an acknowledgement of his appreciation for the help he received from the German Section of the Society while preparing his illustrations for Stephen Bull's articles on German grenade tactics in this and our last issue — and particularly to Tony Dudman, Phil Crago and Geoff Hardy.

Readers may care to note that the membership secretary of the GWS is Colin Ryder, 123 Collingwood Rd., Sutton, Surrey SM1 2QW

Video Releases:

'Anzio' (RCA-Columbia:PG)

'Tour of Duty II — Under Siege' (New World:15)

'Visions of War' (GMH Entertainments)

'Battle for the Falklands' (Hendring)

'The Commando's Story — Falklands '82' (Hendring)

'The Falklands — the Unknown Story' (Castle Communications)

Operation 'Shingle' in January 1944 was the attempt by the Allies to bypass the powerful German Gustav Line in Italy and open the way to Rome. The story of the audacious plan which degenerated into a costly stalemate is well documented in Wynford Vaughn-Thomas' excellent book *Anzio*, based on his first-hand experiences as a BBC war correspondent. Edward Dymytrk's film *Anzio* credits the book as its literary source. Indeed, the film recreates the unopposed landings and the final triumphant entry into Rome, but there the similarity ends. The greater part of the film concentrates on the fate of an American Ranger unit that was

ambushed when attempting to slip through German lines and capture the strategically important town of Cisterna. Robert Mitchum plays Dick Ennis, a war-weary correspondent who is one of the few to return to Allied lines.

Given the recriminations which followed the debacle, it is not surprising that the names of the Allied commanders have been changed. Hence Robert Ryan's 'Gen. Carson' is a thinly disguised Gen. Mark Clark, and Arthur Kennedy's 'Jack Lesley' represents Gen. John Lucas. The rarely-seen British contingent is led by a fictional Gen. Marsh (Anthony Steel). Field Marshal Kesselring does not hide behind a pseudonym; he is played by Wolfgang Priess.

Italian producer Dino de Laurentiis gave the film a respectable budget, and there are attempts to avoid some of the clichés commonly found in this kind of film; but it remains one of the least satisfying of the 1960s war epics.

After the success of recent films

about Vietnam, the appearance of a TV series about the conflict came as no surprise. *Tour of Duty* concerns a company of the 196th Light Infantry Brigade, 23rd Infantry Division ('Americal') in 1967. The pilot episode, released on video as *Nam — Tour of Duty*, introduced the main characters of 'Bravo' Company, SSgt. Clayton 'Zeke' Anderson (Terence Knox) and Lt. Myron 'L.T.' Goldman (Stephen Caffrey).

Tour of Duty II — Under Siege consists of two separate episodes. The first, *Pushin' Too Hard*, is a tiresome story about a glamorous TV journalist who joins the company on a mission to locate and destroy North Vietnamese tunnel systems. Inevitably, her presence proves to be a distraction, and leads to the death of one of the company. In the second part, *Under Siege*, a replacement captain fresh from an office-bound job in Saigon endangers the lives of his men in the pursuit of his own ambitions; when their firebase is in imminent danger of being overrun, it is Anderson who organises the last-ditch

defence.

The series is shot in Hawaii, and benefits from material help and advice from the US Army. These episodes do not stand comparison with feature films, suffering from limited production values, and from a need to sanitise both action scenes and language for home consumption. Drugs, brothels, and any other aspect of a conscript's 'tour of duty' which might cause offence, are referred to, but not seen. However, the scripts do betray some pessimism about the war, although set at a time when a military victory was still considered possible.

GMH Entertainments have released four more documentaries dealing with aspects of the Eastern Front in the Second World War in their *Visions of War* series. The first two, produced and directed by Peter Batty in the 1970s, are narrated by Bernard Archard. *Operation Barbarossa* (1971) describes the political manoeuvrings between the European powers at the beginning of the war, the Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact, and Hitler's invasion of Russia in May 1941. *The Battle for Warsaw* (1978) tells the story of the doomed struggle by the citizens of Warsaw

ON THE SCREEN

and the Polish Home Army to liberate the city before the Russian arrival.

The others consist of Russian documentaries with English dialogue. *The Siege of Leningrad* contains two, both made in 1983. *We Lived Through the Blockade — Memories of a Front Line Cameraman* shows Victory Day celebrations in Leningrad, along with interviews with survivors and some newsreel footage. With it comes *Kursk — Arc of Fire*, a short documentary telling the story of the crucial tank battle in 1944. Lastly, *The Battle for Berlin* (1945) is the famous Russian documentary directed by Yuli Raizman and Yelzaveta V. Popov. The commentary is crudely propagandistic, but is more than compensated for by the extraordinary footage shot by documentary film-maker Roman Karmen and over 40 other front-line cameramen.

The Falklands War has been the subject of three recently released feature-length documentaries, each with a different emphasis. Two were made by Granada Television in association with Independent Television News. *The Battle For the Falklands* (1982), made within a few months of the end of the conflict, is a straightforward account which deals with the historical background, and the re-taking of both South Georgia and the Falklands. *The Commando's Story — Falklands '82* (1987), narrated by ITN reporter Jeremy Hands, concentrates on the part played by the Royal Marines of 3 Commando Brigade. Its emphasis means that there is more information concerning, for example, which units were involved in which actions.

Yorkshire Television's award-winning *The Falklands — The Unknown Story* (1987) avoids the use of a narrator in favour of interviews with soldiers, politicians and civilians from both sides who speak for themselves. Particularly interesting are interviews with Argentinian military personnel, including Gen. Mario B. Menendez, the Military Governor on the islands, and Capt. Hector Bonzo of the *Belgrano*. However, the most poignant reminiscences are those of Mrs. Dorothy Foulkes, whose husband was killed on the *Atlantic Conveyor*.

'The Lighthorsemen'

Directed by Simon Wincer (PG)

Actions involving Australian forces during the First World War have been much in evidence on the screen in recent years, particularly portrayals of the ANZAC forces at Gallipoli. Peter Weir's *Gallipoli* (1982) began the trend, but most have been in the form of television mini-series such as *1915* (1982), *A Fortunate Life* (1985) and *ANZACS* (1985). The last, starring Paul Hogan, proved to be unexpectedly popular when first broadcast by the BBC in an inaccessible afternoon slot, and was repeated at peak viewing time.

However, those who appreciate



Scotty (Jon Blake) charges the Turkish lines at Beersheba during the climactic attack of 31 October 1917, recreated in 'The Lighthorsemen'. (Medusa Pictures)

films on the big screen should not miss the chance to see Simon Wincer's *The Lighthorsemen*, which is due to have its British premiere in November. The film is set in Palestine in 1917, when Allied forces were attempting to take Gaza, strongly defended by a Turco-German force commanded by Gen. von Kressenstein. The film opens with an abortive attack in which British infantry, supported by tanks, suffer heavy casualties. The Australian Light Horse, used as usual as mounted infantry, fare no better.

The film's main characters are a four-man section, all veterans of Gallipoli, in a troop of the 4th Light Horse Regiment. Scotty (Jon Blake), Chiller (Tim McKenzie) and Tas (John Walton) are dismayed when Frank is wounded by an Arab scout, sent for the Turks and sent to convalesce at El Arish. They are incensed when Frank's replacement, the sensitive Dave Mitchell (Peter Phelps) cannot overcome his fear of killing and is unable to fire on the enemy. Dave wins their acceptance when his quick thinking saves their horses during an air attack, but he decides to become a mounted stretcher bearer in the Field Ambulance.

Meanwhile, Gen. Sir Edmund Allenby, who has replaced the ineffectual Gen. Sir Archibald Murray, agrees a plan to outmanoeuvre the Turks and open the way for the eventual capture of Jerusalem. Allied forces will attack Beersheba from two sides, while an elaborate deception will convince the Turks that the main attack is on Gaza. The success of the plan depends on the numbers falling in a day, with its plentiful wells intact. The Turks resist stubbornly and halt an attack by British infantry. In the last hours of daylight, Lt. Gen. Sir Harry Chauvel (Bill Kerr), commander of the Desert Mounted Column, orders two regiments of Light Horse to charge. Led by Lt. Col. M.W. 'Swagman Bill' Bouchier (Tony Bonner), they capture Beersheba in what was arguably history's last great cavalry charge.

Writer and co-producer Ian Jones is an acknowledged expert on the Light Horse, having interviewed survivors and written two books about them, including one published

by Time-Life in their *Australians at War* series. All the main characters are based on real personalities, and many of the incidents in the film are based on actual events. An experienced Australian cast was assembled, although few will be familiar to British audiences. However, Anthony Andrews makes a memorable character of the enigmatic Maj. Meinertzhagen, a British intelligence officer who engineers the crucial deception.

Director and co-producer Simon Wincer first filmed the charge for an episode of a TV series called *The Sullivans* — though tight budget constraints allowed only two actors to be used, with a solitary Lighthorseman tackling a single Turk! For this film Wincer has considerably more resources: over 400 horses were used in the production, which was filmed in Southern Australia. Great care was taken to make the uniforms as authentic as possible: hats and boots were made in Sydney, belt buckles were cast in Brisbane, a Melbourne company made the leg-

gings, and the Light Horse's characteristic emu plumes were supplied from Western Australia.

Wincer makes full use of cinema's many technical resources, particularly colour, wide-screen and stereophonic sound. Shots of a column of horsemen in silhouette may evoke memories of countless cavalry Westerns, but are used to great effect. The climax is outstandingly handled and is a veritable cinematic *tour de force*: the Light Horse troopers charge, correctly shown in three lines, wielding their long bayonets like swords. It is here that it is most apparent that both writer and director understand military details: while the Turkish artillerymen frantically spin their elevation wheels to depress their guns as the range closes, the panicking infantry forget to adjust the sights on their rifles.

The charge also formed the climax of *40,000 Horsemen*, directed by Charles Chauvel (the nephew of Sir Harry) in 1940. The film was as successful here as it was in Australia, as it had a clear contemporary relevance during the Second World War. In contrast, *The Lighthorsemen's* main *raison d'être* is no more than a stirring evocation of a past Australian military success to coincide with the bicentennial celebrations. Although well received in its home country, it may have difficulty attracting audiences elsewhere. However, *Gallipoli* performed better at the box office over here than was expected, and it is to be hoped that the equally informative and entertaining *The Lighthorsemen* will achieve the same success.

Stephen J. Greenhill

THE AUCTION SCENE

The summer recess is over; the auction houses, preparing for the new season, are no doubt wondering what their prospects are. There is no doubt that it is becoming more and more difficult to assemble frequent sales of top quality arms and armour. An examination of the frequency of sales over the past few years will show that the numbers have fallen and, in general, those which have taken place have had fewer lots. Fortunately for the average collector, there is still enough material about to ensure reasonable sales of the less expensive items.

However, if the London Arms Fair — held at the end of September — is any indication, the future appears uncertain. The Fair was quieter than in previous years, although many of the dealers admitted that they had done well — at least one said it was one of the best he had ever had. Prices, on the whole, did not seem to have risen as much as in the past. There were exceptions: Webley Fos-

bery revolvers have now broken the £1,000 barrier.

There was debate among visitors and dealers as to why things were generally quieter, and some interesting thoughts on the subject were offered. The current anti-firearms mood of the press, the firearms amnesty which was then in operation, forthcoming legislation and new laws on knives were all suggested; but lack of money was not. The general feelings was that good quality pieces still sold without much difficulty, but medium and lower grade items were slow to move.

The new Firearm Amendment Bill will be coming before the House of Lords later in October and gloom about the final form continues to prevail among the shooters and collectors. The Criminal Justice Act is now in force, but there is a gleam of hope here — the Home Office is suggesting an amendment which would limit the prohibition of certain edged weapons to those made after 1900.

The museums and collectors' groups are pressing for this date to be put back to 1 January 1920, thus leaving World War I material off the list. There has been no response as yet to this suggestion but it would obviously benefit dealers, collectors and auction rooms.

Militaria seems to hold its own, and Wallis & Wallis have a firm grip on this particular market. Their two-day sale held at the end of August was well supported, with a very good proportion of bids coming in by post and telephone. There was a good selection of Imperial German material which had mixed fortunes, with such items as regimental beersteins, so beloved by Imperial German conscripts, continuing to rise in price — six all fetched prices between £230 and £350.

British Army badges continue to flourish and fetch good prices — an Other Ranks glengarry badge of 1st Volunteer Battalion The Northumberland Fusiliers realised £150, as did a piper's silver badge of the 144th CEF. Shoulder belt plates steadily rise in price: one of the Argyll Highland Rifle Volunteers made £265, while a London and Westminster Light Horse example converted to a brooch still realised £165.

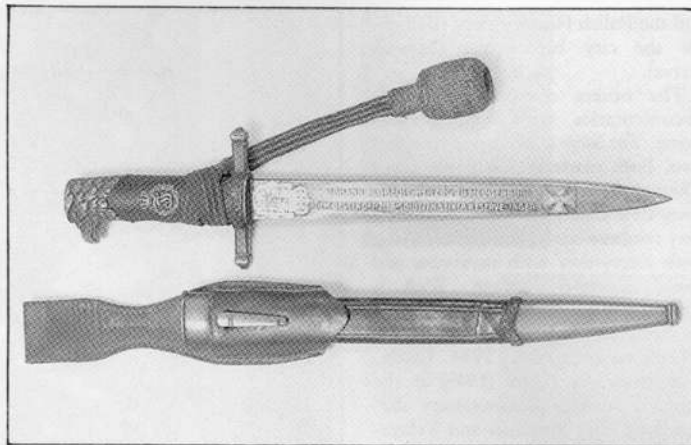
One area of collecting which shows little sign of a growing demand is that of African weapons, of which there were a number offered in this sale: they either failed to sell, or fetched what seem very reasonable prices.

Militaria also featured in a sale at Sotheby's Sussex Rooms at Billingshurst in August. A selection of cap, collar and sweetheart badges sold for £880. Helmets, as always, made good prices, with a Royal Dragoon's 1871 helmet fetching £825; and later examples, such as a 1955 Royal Horse Artillery busby, did very well, selling for £242. The more liberal approach by the law to pinfire weapons continues to ensure that good examples make top prices, such as the £1,540 paid for a cased 20-shot Belgian example.

Weller & Dufty of Birmingham held, late in August, a sale primarily of firearms and, as always, offered a range of varied and interesting items. One surprising price was £150 paid for the Prideaux loader used to load Webley revolvers with six cartridges in one action.

Medals figure prominently in forthcoming sales, with Christie's offering a Victoria Cross awarded to Lt. W. Leefe Robinson of 39 Sqn. RFC for shooting down the first Zeppelin to fall in Britain (L.21, at Cuffley, Herts. on 2/3 September 1916). The group of medals, with some other memorabilia of the winner, is expected to realise some £60,000 at the sale in November.

Phillips have a mixed sale on 6 October which includes a rare American Confederate Naval sword which is estimated at £2,000-£3,000. On the 12th Wallis & Wallis are holding a Special Diamond Jubilee Sale with 201 selected lots, all illustrated in col-



our in the catalogue. Among the items are a large number of superb Imperial German helmets and other headgear. A week later Sotheby's will have a sale of aeronautica, military vehicles, militaria and arms and armour. Among the items are three full-sized fibre glass film replicas of a Hurricane, a Spitfire and a Messerschmitt Bf109, estimated at £7,000-£8,000 each. These are in addition to a number of other aircraft all of which are offered as display exhibits only. For the collector who lacks the space or the cash to accommodate such large items they also have a sale of toys which includes many military models.

An unusual item to close the column: at Neale's of Nottingham on 23 September one of Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery's famous two-

Lot 3212 at Sotheby's Sussex auction on 10 August was this fine German presentation dagger inscribed in gilt: 'JOHANN ALBRECHT HERZOG ZU MECKLENBURG DEM BESTEN OFFIZIERSCHÜTZEN SEINER RESERVE-JÄGER', with a coat of arms and 1914; and on the reverse 'FÜHR MICH ZU SIEG UND FEINDES NOT MIT HO-RI-DO-UND BAU AUF GOTT', with crowned monogram and 1918, obverse and reverse of the Mecklenburg Cross also being marked on the two sides of the blade near the tip. Complete with its brass-mounted leather scabbard and frog, this piece fetched £1,735. (Sotheby's)

badge berets sold for the surprisingly reasonable price of £2,200.

Frederick Wilkinson

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Lt. Col. John Dalglish, 21st Regiment of Foot, 1797

ALLAN CARSWELL

The uniforms of Lt. Col. Dalglish now form part of the collections of the Scottish United Services Museum, Edinburgh Castle; and a tableau depicting him as he may have appeared while on recruiting duty in 1797 is included in the SUSM's major exhibition 'The Story of the Scottish Soldier 1600-1914', mentioned in 'MI' No.15.

As John Dalglish sat in his Spartan inn lodgings in the small town of Paisley, south of Glasgow, on a cold

The figure representing John Dalglish in the SUSM exhibition, showing him as he might have appeared in his quarters at Paisley's Abercorn Inn in January 1797. He wears smallclothes: shirt, breeches and waistcoat. The waistcoat and regimental coat showed a frill of the shirt at the neck; new officers were recommended to buy 24 shirts. Dalglish's waistcoat is made of white cassimere, a twilled woollen cloth; it is single-breasted, with small, gilt, cast regimental buttons bearing '21', a thistle and a crown within a foliate border — see colour photographs. The skirts are cut square at the front, and do not taper away as one might expect.

The breeches are of the same material; the trap fly is secured by two large gilt buttons, and the vent at the bottom of each leg, outside the knee, is closed by five small gilt regimental buttons, with a buckle below the knee. White leather breeches would also have been worn on some occasions. Black cloth gaiters and half-boots, or top-boots, would normally have been worn, though stockings and shoes would not be unusual when parading with troops. A black silk stock or black cravat was worn at the neck over the shirt; and a crimson silk net sash over the waistcoat, knotted at the left waist.

Officers' hair dressing depended on the headdress being worn. With the dress fur cap the long back hair was plaited and tied with a ribbon, then fixed up the back of the head with a comb. For everyday wear the hair was either clubbed (the long hair gathered round a pad in the back of the neck, and tied with a ribbon with a black leather rosette attached); or worn in a queue — as here — like a pigtail wrapped round with a black ribbon decorated with the leather rosette. The hair was cut every month by the regimental barber, and was to be well filled with powder and pomatum — hair ointment originally made from apple juice.

January evening in 1797, he may well have reflected upon his life and career as an officer in the King's army. He was 42 years of age: a man — by all accounts — of frugal tastes, through necessity if not through inclination, after serving for 20 years in the same regiment.

At this moment in his life he was in command, albeit temporarily, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel of his regiment; and was busily recruiting men to take the places of the hundreds who had died during the 21st's most recent campaign in the West Indies. The deaths of many officers senior to Dalglish had contributed in large part to his present position. Dalglish was one of hundreds of Army officers whose lack of wealth or influence doomed them to responsibility for the mundane day-to-day running of their regiments; frequently passed over, they had little hope of promotion or recognition except by the death of comrades.

DUTCH SERVICE

John was born in 1755, the third son of a minor landed family, the Dalglishes of Westgrange in the county of Fife. As the third of five children he would have to make his own way in the world; and like many of his class and county (including his younger brother), it was decided that he would become a soldier. Having neither the money nor the influence to acquire an ensign's commission in the British Army of the day, John Dalglish was commissioned at the age of 19 as *Vaandrig*

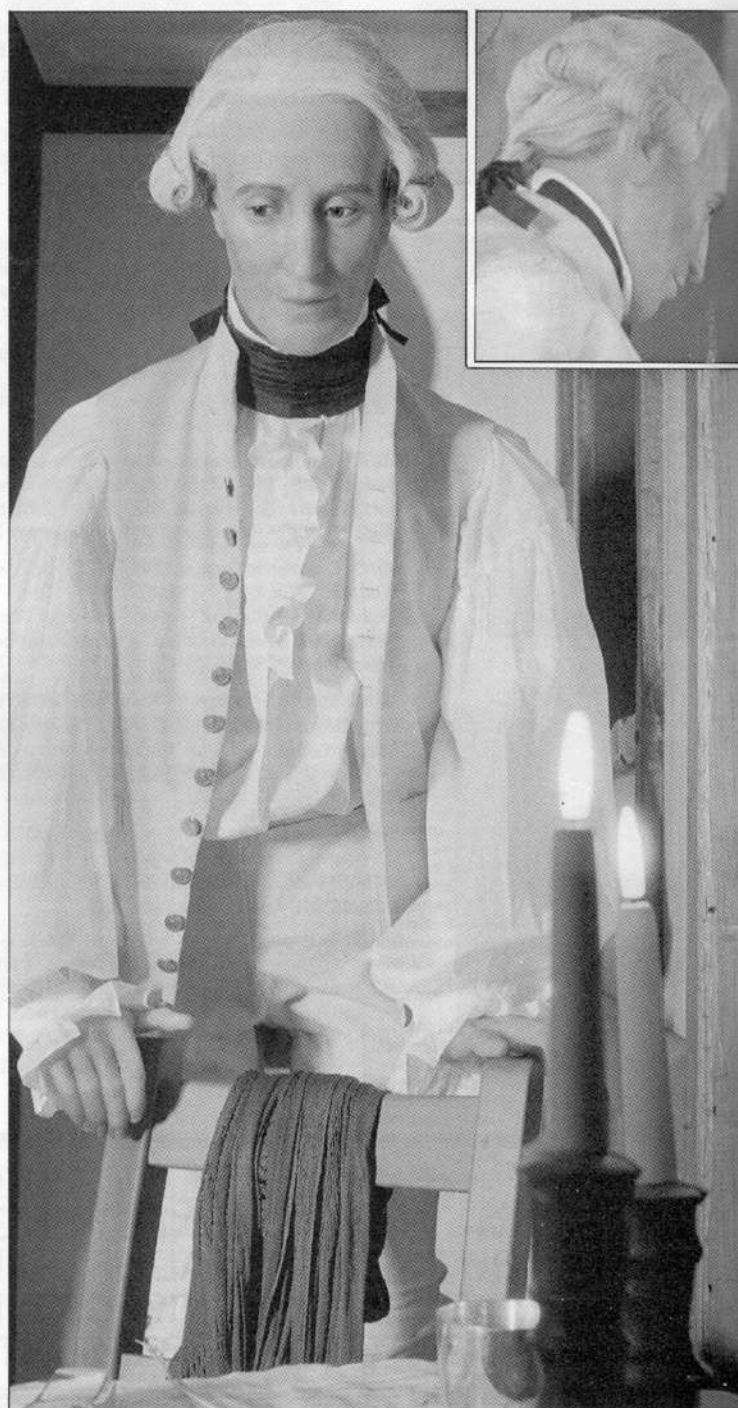
(ensign) in the 2nd Battalion of McKay's Regiment, part of the Scots Brigade in the service of the Dutch — a force of three two-battalion regiments originally recruited and officered entirely from Scotland. By 1774, however, the heavy recruitment of Scots for British regiments during the Seven Years War had much diluted the Brigade's national character, though the officers continued to be Scottish.

The young Dalglish

served for two years in the Brigade, whose main function was to garrison a series of fortified towns known as the 'Barrier of the Dutch'⁽¹⁾. This duty cannot have been either particularly exciting or — since Dutch sympathies lay firmly with the Americans in the forthcoming conflict — particularly congenial.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

In spring 1776 Dalglish had a



⁽¹⁾ Superior numbers refer to the notes at the end of this article.

stroke of good fortune, and managed to obtain an ensign's commission in the 21st Regiment of Foot, The Royal North British Fusiliers, then under orders to sail for North America to help put down the rebellious colonists. The following year saw the 21st taking part in Burgoyne's expedition down the Hudson, ending with defeat at Saratoga at the hands of Maj.Gens. Horatio Gates and Benedict Arnold. The 21st suffered heavily during the long march and in the final confrontation. Cut off and outnumbered, Burgoyne was forced to surrender.

The offered terms were honourable, the British troops being granted repatriation on condition they never returned to America. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the Congress failed to ratify these terms: the captured officers were to be exchanged for Americans of equal rank, while the rank and file were to be kept as prisoners of war. John Dalgleish remained a prisoner at Charlottesville, Virginia until 1780; of the 200-odd men of his regiment who surrendered at Saratoga, nothing more was ever heard. Back in Scotland Dalgleish and his brother officers began to rebuild their destroyed regiment.

IRELAND, CANADA, & THE WEST INDIES

Back to strength in 1782 after recruiting around Dalgleish's home county of Fife, the 21st was sent to Ireland, where it remained for six quiet years — although Dalgleish complains in his diary of the expense of living in Dublin⁽²⁾. A sharp contrast to this fashionable society was provided by the next posting, to Nova Scotia. The prospect of the fogs and chills of the Canadian Maritimes persuaded several officers to sell their commissions and purchase others in regiments based in more comfortable surroundings. This expensive option was, of course, not open to John Dalgleish, who remained with the 21st, and was promoted captain in August 1789.



Caricature of a recruiting party of the 1790s, showing a grenadier or Fusilier officer with the usual accompanying drummer and fifer. The contemporary popular image of typical Army recruits is vividly conveyed.

After four inactive years in Canada the regiment embarked, on the outbreak of war with France in April 1793, for Barbados. During the disastrous campaign against the French-held islands of the West Indies the 21st took part in the unsuccessful attempt on Martinique; then landed on Antigua, where they fell prey to the yellow fever which at that time made the West Indies one huge graveyard for British soldiers. By the end of 1793 the regiment had lost nine officers and 94 rank and file to the disease; Dalgleish contracted it, but survived, to find himself the senior surviving captain in the regiment.

In 1794, reinforced by drafts from other units, the 21st once again formed part of a force flung against Martinique; this time the attack succeeded, and the expedition went on to capture St. Lucia and Guadeloupe. Trying to hold the islands in the face of disease, native revolts and French counter-invasions was a different and costly matter. By 1796 the 21st was again in a low state, split up between various islands and worn down by sickness. For most of this period Dalgleish

acted as commanding officer, yet still only with the rank of captain. Eventually many of the able-bodied men were transferred to other units and the remnant of the regiment was sent home, after three years of appalling hardship suffered in a campaign since judged an expensive and unnecessary disaster.

* * *

And so we return to John Dalgleish in his chilly room in the Abercorn Inn in Paisley in January 1797, rebuilding a shattered regiment for the second time in his career. Of the 31 officers who had sailed for Canada eight years before, only he and six others remained with the 21st. Dalgleish had finally been promoted major in September 1795, and to lieutenant-colonel the following year. Now he was acting commanding officer as the 21st recruited in Scotland; the senior lieutenant-colonel was arranging for new uniforms and equipment to be sent north from London.

PROMOTION AND RECRUITING

It had taken Dalgleish 20 years to reach this position, and many men of his means would have regarded him as

fortunate. Unable to buy himself up the ladder of promotion, he had had the luck to survive a terribly costly campaign, advancing without purchase and purely by seniority. The subalterns' toast to 'a bloody war and a sickly season' was all too understandable.

For those with wealth and connections the story could be very different. In the 1780s it was feasible for a wealthy man to advance from ensign to lieutenant-colonel in the space of three weeks, without serving a single day with any regiment⁽³⁾. Although attempts were made to regulate the prices of commissions, they were nearly always sold through special brokers for the highest price available. The system was open to the most flagrant abuses, and schoolboys could be bought commissions over the heads of experienced junior officers.

Another means of achieving promotion was the system of 'raising for rank'. Whenever the army needed building up quickly the government would offer commissions to anyone who would undertake to recruit an independent company, which would then be drafted into an existing battalion — thereby putting a totally inexperienced captain above the battalion's serving ensigns and lieutenants. The shortcomings of this method were displayed during the Duke of York's disastrous Flanders campaign of 1793, when many of these companies were found to contain nothing but untrained boys and old men enlisted by unscrupulous and self-seeking officers. The inadequacy of most of the senior regimental officers who had purchased their commissions was also starkly revealed during this campaign. A letter from the Duke's Adjutant General described the pitiful

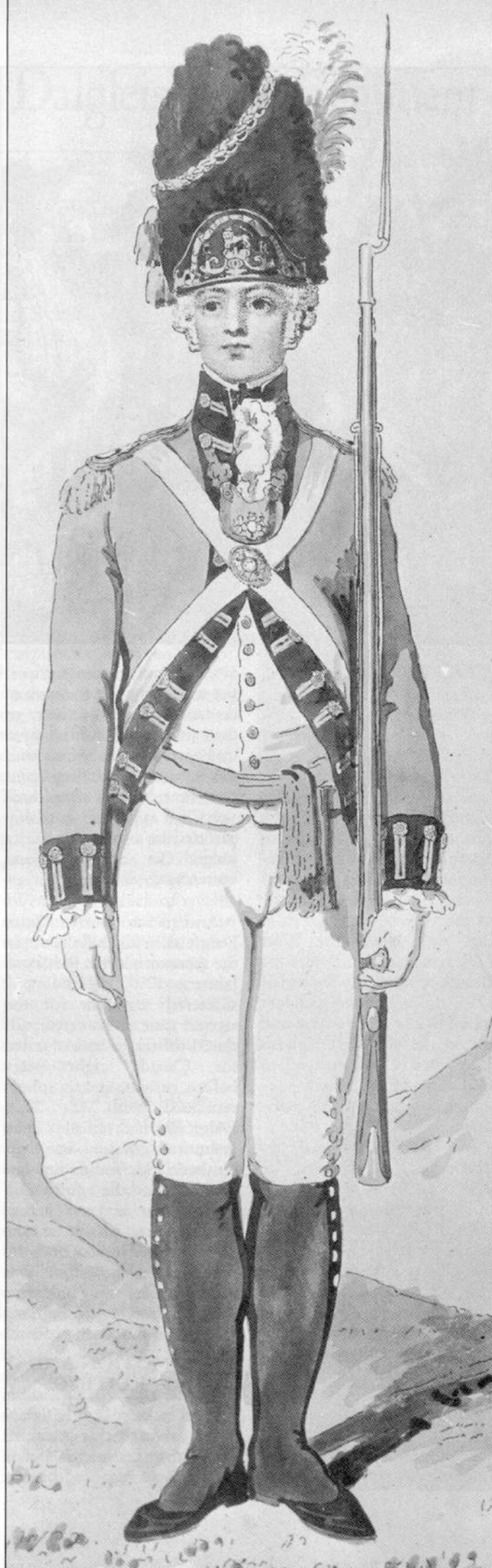
condition of the officer corps:

'There is not a young man in the Army that cares one farthing whether his commanding officer, the brigadier or the commander-in-chief approves his conduct or not. His promotion depends not on their smiles or frowns. His friends can give

Officer of the 7th Regiment of Foot (Royal Fusiliers), 1792: engraving after a watercolour by Edward Dayes. The 21st would have worn very similar uniform.

Until 1792 officers of Fusileer regiments still carried the fusil, a light musket favoured in the 1770s by infantry officers in place of the unwieldy spontoon or half-pike. This latter was abolished in 1786 and the first official instruction was issued for officers to carry swords alone; as stated, Fusileer officers only complied in 1792. The sword, with a straight 32in. blade, was to have a hilt of unspecified design in either gilt or silver, according to the regiment's button colour. Officers' swords within one regiment were to be uniform; and in practice many units adopted the 'five ball' hilt, a plain design identified by five joined balls incorporated into the knucklebow and side ring. It is not known exactly what hilt was favoured in the 21st. A crimson and gold sword knot would be worn. The sword was carried in a scabbard through a frog in the whitened buff-leather sword belt worn over the right shoulder and fastened with an oval copper-gilt plate engraved with a crowned thistle device surrounded by the motto *Nemo Me Impune Lacessit* and the number 'XXI'. When on duty an officer would wear the belt over the coat, when off duty, under the coat.

The other mark of an officer on duty was the gorget, suspended on ribbons with rosettes, usually in regimental facing colour, either from the collar buttons or the top lapel buttons⁽¹⁰⁾. Between 1768 and 1796 the gorget bore the Royal Arms and regimental number, plus any other devices the regiment were entitled to wear but, as in all such questions, individual regiments and colonels indulged themselves in unauthorised embellishments. During this period, too, the gorget metal matched the regiment's buttons and lace. In 1796 a new universal pattern was introduced in copper-gilt, bearing the Royal Cypher and crown. The only 21st Regiment gorget in the SUSM bears the Royal Arms and regimental title and number — but it is made in silver, not used by the 21st for their lace since much earlier in the century, when gorgets were of a different design. Whether this particular example had been gilded at one time, or whether the 21st wore silver gorgets as some unauthorised regimental idiosyncrasy, is not known (National Army Museum, London)



him a thousand pounds with which to go to the auction rooms in Charles Street, and in a fortnight he becomes a captain. Out of fifteen regiments of cavalry and twenty-six of infantry which we have here, twenty-one are commanded literally by boys or idiots⁽⁴⁾.

By the late 1790s the position had improved following a series of reforms instituted by the Duke of York as Commander-in-Chief. A mandatory period of service was required in each rank prior to promotion; a minimum age of 16 was set for officers; and a Royal Military College was founded. Despite these improvements the officer corps was still dominated by privilege and wealth. For men like John Dalgleish the system offered a hard, monotonous life spent often in unpleasant and unhealthy postings, for little reward or recognition.

Filling the ranks

When the 21st returned from the West Indies in 1796 it was a regiment in name only; Dalgleish and his officers faced the daunting task of recruiting and training a whole new unit, the establishment of which had just been raised to 1,000 men. It took over four years to fill the ranks, and this was only achieved by taking volunteers from the various Fencible units, and by recruiting while stationed in Ireland⁽⁵⁾. The Fencibles were at least partially trained; and Ireland had become a vast pool of potential recruits since the easing of restrictions on Roman Catholics serving in the ranks of the Army in the early 1780s.

While Dalgleish was at Paisley in winter 1796/97 recruiting parties were despatched throughout central Scotland, each consisting of an officer, several sergeants, and usually a drummer. They enlisted from the social groups who had always filled the army: farm labourers unemployed following the harvest, unskilled workers, petty criminals, and the occasional adven-

turer. At this time the only qualifications required of a recruit were a minimum height of 5ft 6in; that he 'have no rupture' nor 'be troubled with fits' or any other lameness; that he not be an apprentice, or serving with the Militia. In peacetime the army would gladly take anyone outside these categories; in wartime, even these restrictions could be waived.

Enlistment was generally for life, but in wartime a limited period of service was introduced, along with a more attractive bounty. Conditions and pay were poor; the daily wage of a soldier was increased from 8d to a shilling in the 1790s, but various deductions for food and 'necessaries' were made from this. While rations were basic in the extreme, and irregular when on campaign, at least enlistment normally guaranteed a full belly, and this alone would have been a sufficient inducement for many. Brutal discipline, inadequate medical services, scant attention to hygiene, a monotonous daily round in peacetime and the very real risk of death or mutilation on active service, without even the assurance of a pension for the turned-off wounded — these factors add up to an existence harsh enough in 20th-century eyes to justify the soldier's almost universal recourse to the bottle. The fact remains, however, that given the social backgrounds of many of the men who volunteered to serve in the late 18th century, army life must have had its comparative attractions.

THE UNIFORMS

The figure in the SUSM exhibition which represents John Dalgleish in his inn room is dressed in surviving clothing presented to the Museum in 1949 by his descendants; the gift consisted of two regimental coats, a pair of breeches, and a waistcoat, all in excellent condition.

As a senior officer in a Fuzileer regiment in the 1790s, Dalgleish would wear a uniform based on that prescribed in the 1768 Clothing

Warrant and its subsequent amendments⁽⁶⁾. It would, of course, have been personally ordered and paid for. There are no known surviving illustrations of the 21st Fuzileers from this period; but one of a superb series of engravings after the watercolours of Edward Dayes, draughtsman to the Duke of York, shows an officer of the 7th Foot (Royal Fuzileers) in 1792. Although a little earlier than the Dalgleish figure, its main difference lies in the fact that the Dayes figure is still carrying the fuzil, bayonet and cartridge pouch then the personal armament of all Fuzileer officers; they were replaced in that year by the sword for all occasions.



Above:

Rear of the coat worn by John Dalgleish, c.1790.

Left:

Rear of the coat worn by John Dalgleish, c.1780.

Headgear

Fuzileer officers wore three different forms of headdress. For full parades the Fuzileer cap was worn: a black bearskin cap with a blackened metal front plate bearing the King's crest and the motto *Nec Aspera Terrent* picked out in gilt, with gold cords and tassels, and a white feather plume on the left side. This cap was very similar to that then worn by grenadiers except in lacking the small rear grenade badge, and in being slightly shorter than the



Front view, and detail of epaulette, cuff, and turnback ornament, of the coat worn by John Dalglish, c.1780.

12in. height of the grenadier type. It would appear that this fur cap was kept very much as a full dress item (probably due to the expense of replacing it).

For everyday wear the 'cocked' felt bicorne was worn. This had a gold lace loop, regimental button, and a black cockade, with the distinctive white hackle of the Fuzileers and grenadiers.

There is also evidence that

Fuzileer regiments wore what is referred to as a 'helmet' with a white feather hackle. This would seem to have been of similar appearance to the 'Tarleton' helmet worn by light dragoons, horse artillery, and some light infantry regiments. The 7th Foot (Royal Fuzileers) were certainly wearing such a helmet in about 1788, and mention is made of an officer requiring a helmet in the regimental



Front view, and detail of epaulette, cuff, and turnback ornament, of the coat worn by John Dagleish, c.1790.

standing orders of 1798⁽⁷⁾. Whether the 21st wore such helmets is not known.

Regimental coat

This was the most expensive part of the uniform, and an officer would be expected to own two. Dagleish certainly had two: both have survived, though they were obviously made at different dates. Both follow the 1768 Warrant except in having upright col-

lars rather than the buttoned-down type stipulated in those regulations. They are made from scarlet superfine woolen cloth, with cuffs, collars, and waist-length lapels in the regimental facing colour of dark blue. The body lining is of white shalloon, a lightweight worsted fabric; the sleeves are lined with a linen flax, and the coat-tail turnbacks with white cassimere.

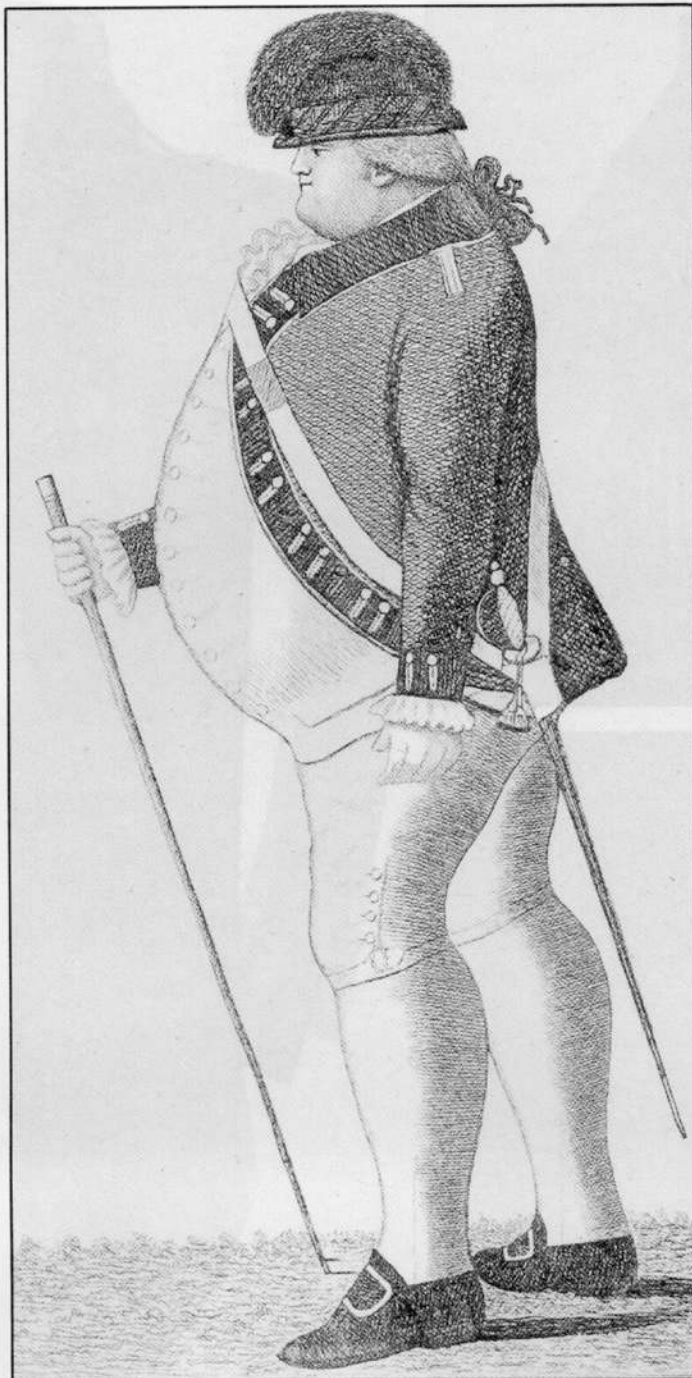
Quartermaster Taylor of the 7th Foot (Royal Fusiliers), 1788: note the headgear. (From John Kays, A Series of Original Portraits)

The main datable differences between the two coats lie in the epaulettes, and the button loop decorations. The earlier coat has the usual two epaulettes worn by Fusilier officers of all ranks⁽⁸⁾, but of the design without the crescent above the fringe, and with the strap of facing colour embroidered with gold thread — a typical design of the 1780s. The button loops (ten in pairs on each lapel; one on each collar; and four in pairs on each cuff) are of gold thread embroidery, square-ended, 2½in. long on the lapels. On the rear of the coat are two tail pockets with three-pointed flaps each decorated with four false button loops of the same gold wire embroidery, corresponding to four gilt-covered bone buttons of the same design as those on the lapels, collar and cuffs. Between the pocket flaps are two buttons and four more embroidered loops; and two embroidered thistle devices decorate the points where the tail turnbacks meet.

The second coat follows much the same pattern, except that the button loops have now changed to applied gold lace rather than embroidery⁽⁹⁾. The lapels are a little fuller. The design of the epaulettes is now that of the 1790s: a solid strap of gold lace with a crescent of gold embroidery and spangles, and an applied crowned thistle badge at the end of the strap, above a gold bullion and thread fringe. The same badge is also used on the tail turnbacks.

★ ★ ★

John Dalgleish was not an exceptional soldier, neither was his career particularly remarkable — which is what makes him important as an exemplar. For every famous personality of the period there were hundreds like Dalgleish: ordinary men who looked on the Army as their



career, and had long experience of its stupidities, inadequacies and injustices. Left to try to run their regiments as best they could, they saw themselves trampled by privileged youths and wealthy fools, but lacked the independent means — and perhaps the radical temper — to challenge the system. Most were, after all, the deeply conservative products of a social background which regarded the challenging of traditional authority with distrust, if not horror.

It is well-documented that Scotland produced hundreds of such younger sons of the gentry, to whom the Army

offered the only secure future, albeit, in terms of rank and fortune, a distinctly modest one. Scotland's relative lack of wealth, relative isolation from the prosperous centre of the state, and long tradition of service in other peoples' armies reinforced this tendency.

In October 1797 John Dalgleish sold his commission and left the regiment he had served so long and faithfully — and the Army. It is pleasant to record that with the money he received for his hard-earned rank he married the daughter of a local Fife family in 1798, and settled down to father eight children.

On the deaths of his two elder brothers in 1811 he succeeded to the family estate; and died in 1829 at the respectable age of 74.

In late 1797 Dalgleish's successor as lieutenant-colonel of the 21st Foot (Royal North British Fusiliers) arrived in Scotland to join the regiment. Lord Evelyn Stuart, formerly of the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards, was then 24 years old. **[M]**

Notes

(1) This chain of fortified towns garrisoned by the Dutch beyond their own southern frontier in the then Austrian Netherlands, to act as a defence against French invasion, was fixed by treaty in 1715 as including Namur, Tournai, Menin, Fumes, Warneton, Ypres, Knocke and Dendermonde (a shared garrison). The Scots were thought better suited than Dutch troops for the sensitive duty of garrisoning towns well within a foreign, and Catholic, state. (*Papers Illustrating the History of the Scots Brigade in the Service of the United Netherlands 1572-1782*, Vol. II, ed. James Ferguson (Edinburgh, 1899) pp. 109-111.

(2) An Inspection Return dated 24 July 1787 at Dublin describes the 21st as a 'Very showy, good regiment'. *British Military Uniforms 1768-96*, Hew Strachan (London 1975), p. 215.

(3) *The Purchase System in the British Army 1660-1871*, Anthony Bruce (London 1980), p. 38.

(4) Quoted in *The Story of Sandhurst*, Hugh Thomas (London 1961), p. 20.

(5) Fencible regiments were units of infantry and cavalry raised at various times of national emergency during the second half of the 18th century, mainly in Scotland. Full-time home defence troops, they enlisted for a limited period for service restricted to within the British Isles. All were disbanded after the Peace of Amiens, 1802.

(6) As Dalgleish left the Army in 1797 his uniform was unaffected by the new regulations issued in 1796-97, which made major changes to the infantry officer's clothing and equipment.

(7) *Standing Orders of the Royal Fusiliers, 1798* ed. Percy Sumner, *JSAHR*, Vol. 27, p. 120.

(8) The practice of Fusilier officers wearing two epaulettes arose from their requiring two crossbelts, since they alone carried the cartridge box and bayonet.

(9) The change from embroidered loops to applied lace would usually have been made at the behest of the Regimental Colonel. Gen. James Inglis Hamilton, colonel of the 21st from 1794, may have been responsible.

(10) Mounted officers within a regiment, e.g. the adjutant and the field officers (such as Dalgleish) would not wear a gorget. *Infantry Clothing Regulations, 1802*, W.Y. Carman, *JSAHR*, Vol. 19, p. 211.

German Grenades and Bombing Tactics, 1918 (2)

STEPHEN BULL
Paintings by PAUL HANNON

The first part of this article ('MI' No. 15) described and illustrated in detail the different models of grenade used during the Great War. This concluding part covers the tactical uses to which German troops put these weapons under the conditions of trench warfare, and the evolution of the bombing squad to maximise their tactical impact.

Broadly speaking, the German grenades were divided into defensive and offensive types. Those with light casings were intended to produce blast effect over a limited radius in circumstances where the attack-

ing grenadier was himself exposed; those with heavy cast-iron casings were for use defensively, thrown from behind cover which would protect the grenadier from the greater fragmentation.

Despite the differences in design, captured documents and recorded battle experiences show that the German Army used many of the techniques also employed by the British, and that the manual-writers responded to enemy innovations⁽¹⁾.

The first German experiments with grenade-armed

'Stoss-' or 'shock'-troops were rather haphazard, mere handfuls of men being detailed to attack protected by improvised shields, and armed with clubs, knives and sharpened entrenching tools for close-quarter work. By 1915 matters were much improved; and later in that year the tactical unit deployed was the 'Handgranatentrupp' of between six and eight men. The members of these groups were selected for their skill with the bomb and their personal courage and dash, and were entitled to wear distinctive badges. There were probably several different early designs, but photographic evidence suggests that the dark-coloured silhouette of a stick grenade worn upright on the left upper sleeve was common. (Given the properties of contemporary film stock, these might have been yellow as plausibly as red or black.)

DEFENCE

In defence the bombing groups were positioned in the centre of each platoon, ready to launch small-scale counter-attacks against enemy troops penetrating the trench system. Grenades in boxes were placed in readiness at strategic points along the trench line; and in organised defensive posts boxes were built into the trench wall to hold a ready-fuzed supply. Detailed instructions to the *Handgranatentrupp* continued:

'Should the enemy have penetrated into a small portion of the trench, and should the troops on the spot not be able to deal with them by means of the bayonet or hand

Two stalwarts of the 12th Reserve Infantry Regt., 1916 or 1917, preparing to fire 1914 pattern rifle grenades from a launcher stand. Note that the bomb heads are stored separately in a flat box (foreground) and that rods and ranging discs are added as required. The firer holds a lanyard attached to the rifle trigger. (Imperial War Museum)



⁽¹⁾Superior numerals refer to notes at the end of this article.

A sentry of the 127th Infantry Regt. at Hill 60, Ypres, 1916, watches enemy lines through a periscope camouflaged with a sandbag. When grenades were used in the defence of a line, the manual of close combat left it up to the individual to choose the vital moment for changing from other weapons to the bomb. (Imperial War Museum)



grenades, the bombing party should, without waiting for orders, immediately attack the enemy with grenades before it becomes necessary to erect a barricade in the trench. On a signal from their commander the men of the bombing party [are to] equip themselves with hand grenades and collect around him.

'All men of the party carry their rifles slung, bayonets fixed and daggers ready, with the exception of the two leaders, who do not carry rifles. The latter may carry as many grenades as they can conveniently handle and should, if possible, be armed with pistols. The commander, similarly armed, follows the two leading men. If no pistols are available, the commander, who should cover the two leading men, carries his rifle ready-loaded in his hands. The remaining three men follow the others one traverse to the rear; they keep within sight of their commander, and carry as many grenades as possible. When possible the grenades are carried in their boxes. The two leading men advance along the trench in a crouching posture, so that the commander can fire over them. The interval between traverses is crossed at a rush. . .

'If the enemy has penetrated into the trench with a large force, and a continuation of his attack is to be expected, as good a barricade as circumstances permit should be erected. The bombing party should at first remain on the defensive behind this barricade or a breastwork. Rifles should be unslung ready for use. The commander and the three rear men should take up position behind the nearest traverse and within sight of the two leading men.

'Bombing parties belonging to the platoons in support

and in reserve should be stationed somewhere in the vicinity of the communication trenches, and should be brought up to a strength of eight men including the commander⁽²⁾.

ATTACK

In attack the *Handgranaten-trupp* led the way down the enemy trenches, alternately bombing and advancing. In his war memoirs Lt. Charles Carrington of the Royal Warwickshire Regiment described how it felt to be on the receiving end of such an attack on the Somme in 1916. First came the sound of distant voices; then a moment of terror, when the mind was full of 'Prussian guardsmen, burly and brutal, and bursting bombs, and hand-to-hand struggles with cold steel'. Then came the bombs in reality, explosions filling the air with whining fragments, bay by bay and closer with each moment. Carrington risked a look over the top:

'Thirty or forty yards away I saw a hand and a grey sleeve come up out of the trench and throw a cylinder on the end of a wooden rod. It turned over and over in the air, and seemed to take hours to approach. It fell just at the foot of the traverse where we stood, and burst with a shattering shock. "The next one will get us", I thought.

'Serjeant Adams pulled a

bomb out of his pocket and threw it. I did the same, and immediately felt better. A young Lance-Corporal, Houghton, did the same. The next German bomb fell short. Then someone threw without remembering to pull the pin, and in a moment the bomb was caught up and thrown back at us by the enemy. . . I snapped off my revolver once or twice at glimpses of the enemy⁽³⁾.

Eventually Carrington was wounded by an *Eierhandgranate*; and it finally took an organised and bloody counterattack to drive the Germans out.

Developments in 1916

Refined German tactics of 1916 saw the bombing parties increased to nine men including the squad leader. The others were divided into two subsections of four. The cutting edge of the 'Gruppe' or square was provided by the front four men, two of them picked throwers and the other two carriers in close support. When sudden showers of grenades were required all four would throw together. These front men were to be armed with pistols, trench knives, and six grenades each. The rear subsection was made up of carriers and spare men. Ideally these each carried a rifle and bayonet, six grenades, and 25 empty sandbags secured by their haversack straps.

Paul Hannon's reconstructions opposite illustrate: (1) Stormtrooper, 6th (Bavarian) Assault Battalion, 1918. He wears the camouflage-painted M1916 trench helmet; some assault units used hand-painted unit devices on the helmet. The Feldrock M1914 has the Bavarian Auszeichnung Borte collar lace, which originally edged the whole length of the collar but was reduced to a 4cm section each side of the front opening by an order of December 1917; it was in grey and blue chequers for rank and file and in matt silver and blue for officers. The slate grey so-called Sturm-hose or Berghose trousers have leather reinforcement patches on the knees and seat. The use of oiled wool socks, in place of puttees, with the M1901 front-laced ankle boots was common among Sturmtruppen. Armament includes the Kar '98AZ rifle with M1898 'butcher' bayonet, and grenade bags improvised from sandbags; rare examples are found neatly made, probably at unit level, from Zeltbahn material and buttons.

The Grossespaten — large spade — was carried in a cloth or leather belt carrier, its handle attached to the tunic shoulder strap by a leather strap.

(2) NCO, 73rd (Hanoverian) Infantry Regiment, 1917-18. The Füsiliere-Regiment General-Feldmarschall Prinz Albrecht von Preussen (Hannoversches) Nr.73 served in the Cherisy-Guémappé sector opposite the British front during that winter. It traced its lineage to Hanoverian units which had fought alongside the British in the garrison of Gibraltar during the epic siege of 1779-83, and this battlehonour was marked by a cufftitle in yellow on pale blue worn about an inch above the cuff turnback.

The M1916 helmet has the issue cover introduced in 1917, here in field grey; variations included a white winter type. The 1915 pattern Bluse is worn with poor-quality 1918 pattern field grey trousers, and the puttees which were general issue for assault troops. A torch is attached to his belt. His assault pack consists of the Zeltbahn rolled in a horse-collar shape round the messtlin and secured, knapsack-style, with the breadbag strap. Belt order among assault troops varied: some wore one, some both rifle pouch sets, and some carried ammunition — and egg grenades — loose in the pockets. The cloth belt-carriers for gas masks seem to have been retained later in these units than in most. Various clubs and sharpened weapons were carried for hand-to-hand fighting.

(3) Assault Battalion officer, 1918. He carries his M1917 gas-mask slung round his neck, and is armed with a PO8 pistol; he holds a bundle of grenade heads wired round a complete stick grenade, for use against a pillbox.



The party was intended to advance along the trenches well spread out to minimize casualties from enemy bomb-

Handgranatentrupp, 1916; the Pickelhaube helmets have the spikes removed for front line use, in accordance with the Army order of 29 December 1915, and the numbers on the regulation covers identify these soldiers as serving with the 40th Fusilier Regiment. Among the bombers' loads can be seen stick grenades of both the old 'rounded end' and the new 'screw cap' varieties. The grenades are suspended by their hooks from every convenient part of the equipment, and the festoons across the chest must presumably be attached by means of a strap or cord uniting the pack straps, or passing round the neck under the shoulder straps. About half the men are armed with the standard Gewehr '98 service rifle, and several have extra ammunition bandoliers draped round their necks. The group leader (fourth from left, NCO collar Tresse just visible) has a holstered PO8 or 'Luger' pistol on his belt.

Several men carry materials for the construction of a trench barricade: boards, sandbags, entrenching tools suspended from the belt in leather carriers, and large picks and shovels secured to the packs. The man fifth from left carries the large rectangular sniper's armour plate, pattern 1916, with a fold-down prop. At right two good examples of the arrangement of the lightened assault pack can be seen. (Private collection)

ing. Traverses were to be 'bombed over'; and the No.2 in the group was to call out 'Geraümt!' ('Cleared!') to the leader as each was taken. The leader would then give the order to advance. In some instances the squad leader was provided with small white marker flags to be placed at intervals on the tops of the traverses to prevent German groups from attacking each other. (One cannot help but wonder if this tactic was ever mistakenly interpreted by Allied troops as a sign of surrender.)

If the advance of the party was completely halted by determined resistance, a barricade was erected across the trench to hold the ground already taken. On the command 'Sädsache vor!' ('Sandbags forward!') the rear members of the squad set to work to build a blockade. This was usually between the two subsections of the group, so that the forward subsection could concentrate on holding the enemy off while its construction was in progress.

Individual machine gun posts or blockhouses required slightly different tactics. Here one or two members of the

group would be detailed to take up sniping positions, firing on the loopholes of the objective. The rest would meanwhile attempt to work around the flanks and rear, making use of shell-holes and the lie of the land. Finally they would rush the objective from unexpected angles, bombing it into submission.

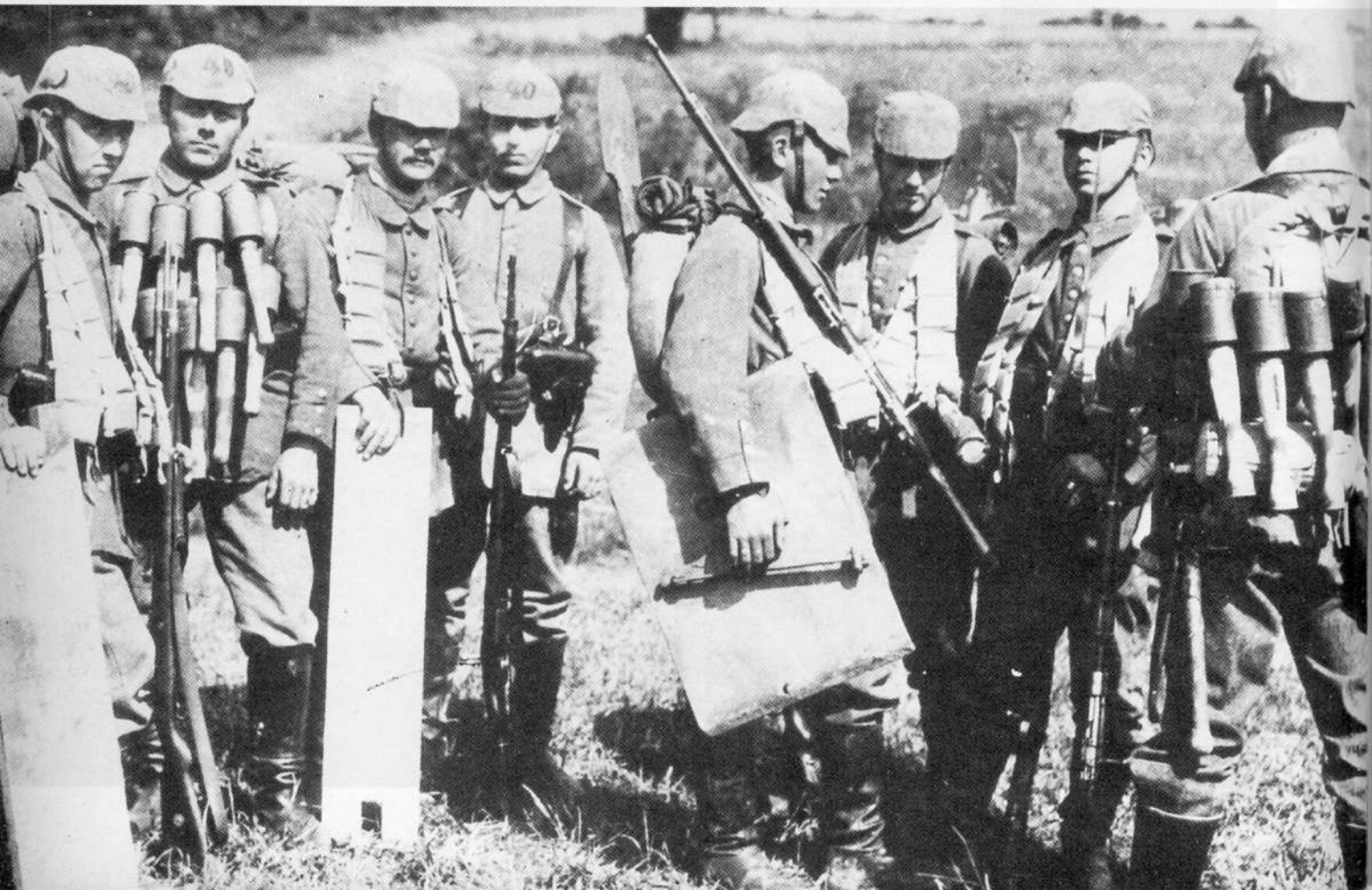
An interesting technical innovation of this period was the combined use of egg and stick grenades. One of the forward members of the group would be equipped with stick bombs for the usual close-range work, the other with eggs. The task of the second man was to throw further than his comrade, using the smaller missiles specifically to interfere with the enemies' efforts to send grenade supplies up to their forward elements. The chances of demoralising the enemy before they got close, or of winning the close-range duel, were thus increased⁽⁴⁾.

Grenade supply

The constant provision of grenades was a critical factor in these actions. In the German case it was intended that grenades be passed up

through the party to the front, the throwers taking supplies from men behind them as a matter of course, and saving their own load for emergencies. The whole party was similarly to be assisted from the rear, sandbags holding about six bombs each being passed forward from their parent unit. Some use was also made of trained dogs wearing a canine version of the grenade waistcoat; these were loaded up with bombs and sent forward to advanced parties to replenish their stocks. Parties of men not actually in the spearhead of the attack were often instructed to carry with them an extra box of grenades, or several sandbags-full, for the support of their comrades⁽⁵⁾.

The bombers themselves carried grenades by a variety of methods. The stick grenade, with its belt hook, was convenient for simply festooning the bomber's body, and every conceivable strap was used for this purpose. Others used sandbags hung on a strap round the neck and shoulder, and a balanced load was achieved by joining pairs of sandbags by tapes at top and bottom corners so that



they could be worn like 'waterwings'. Haversacks of bombs were slung diagonally. Egg grenades, being small and relatively light, could be carried in much larger numbers in bags or in the pockets. The *Kügelhandgranate* was sometimes carried in a special belt container, an openwork 'basket' of iron strapping which clipped over the belt by means of a slide, and was fitted with a short chain and a hook. This was used to pull the wire loop of the igniter.

Development of the assault squad

Bombing squads could be grouped together for special tactical tasks; company commanders were usually empowered to lump together up to three squads to make a small strike force, and battalion commanders were able to pull together the squads from several companies to make a larger élite group. This selection of special 'shock' troops reached its ultimate conclusion with the foundation of the assault detachments or *Sturmtruppe* in spring 1916.

The first such unit was an assault engineer/artillery force named *Sturmabteilung*

Calsow, after its commander, and formed in May 1915⁽⁶⁾. In August it was taken over by Hauptmann Röhr; and, in collaboration with the CO of the flamethrower unit 3rd Guard Pioneer Regiment, he transformed it into an all-arms force of engineers, light guns, machine guns, flamethrowers, and trench mortars. That autumn it was designated as the training cadre for the formation of assault companies for each of the divisions of Fifth Army. After spectacular success in the spring 1916 fighting at Verdun, Röhr's *Sturmabteilung* was tasked with set-

ting up a training camp at Beuville, to process *Sturmkompanien* for all the Armies at the front. In late 1916-early 1917 no less than 17 complete *Sturmabteilungen* were formed, one per Army or equivalent formation, usually numbered after the parent Army — thus Röhr's original unit in Fifth Army became *Sturmabteilung 5*. Each consisted of a number of assault companies, one or more machine gun companies, a trench mortar company, a light gun company and a flamethrower section⁽⁷⁾.

While these spearhead assault units naturally made

widespread use of aggressive grenade tactics, the ordinary line infantry units continued to have a large proportion of their men trained in the use of grenades, along the lines already described.

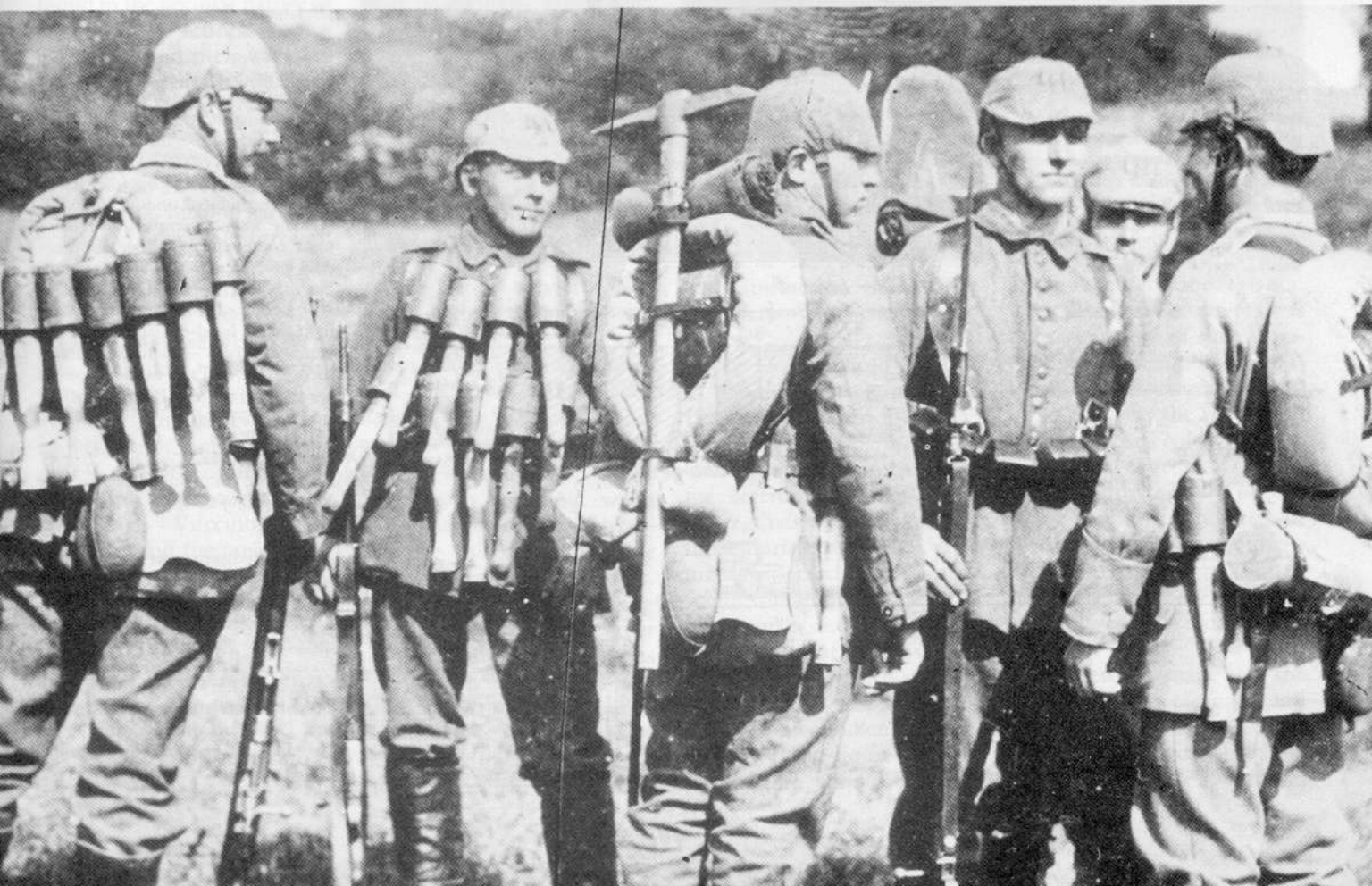
Special methods were also developed for the destruction of obstacles and vehicles. The 'long' charge employed by the infantry came in at least two patterns involving the use of stick grenades. The first was simply a plank or pole with the cylinders of stick grenades attached, complete with their detonators, the last grenade in the series also retaining its stick and lighter. A couple of brave men were required to crawl forward and push this improvised 'Bangalore torpedo' into the enemy wire, or to heave it bodily from a distance; the grenade cord was then pulled by means of a long string.

In a variation on this theme the main body of the charge



Left:

Stick grenades captured at Ypres in 1916; they are of the later pattern, with screw caps fitted over the pull-cords. The example on the left has the head removed to show the position of the detonator. (Imperial War Museum)



was a single unit, and the grenade was merely a glorified detonator for it. A 'concentrated' charge could also be made from stick grenades; six heads, without detonators, were wired around a central, complete grenade, and the whole bundle was thrown — against emplacements, pill-boxes, and even tanks.

TRAINING

Broadly speaking, training fell into two phases: the theoretical and the practical. The first consisted of lectures and other instruction on grenade types and mechanisms; the squad training and throwing practice were distinctly practical. Where possible, volunteers were sought for this training programme; but as the war progressed, men became fewer, and the bomb ever more important, this distinction must have become less and less feasible.

Active training was carried out with the aid of dummy bombs which, contrary to the British method, were usually clearly identified by being painted red. Dummy stick bombs were most often constructed with hollow iron heads which were not only

painted red, but also drilled through in a number of places to show that they were not filled. Red dummy disc and egg bombs were sometimes included in the consignments of filled grenades.

The ideal training area was a *Handgranatenstand* laid out specifically for the purpose. According to instructions issued by the Chief of the General Staff, men were to be practised in throwing stand-

ing, kneeling and lying, and to combine this with jumping swiftly in and out of trenches. These exercises were carried out to both manual and whistle signals. Where possible the *Handgranatenstand* was to be laid out to mimic battlefield conditions with strong-points, wire entanglements, loopholes, sapheads and farm buildings. Later in the war it seems likely that most recruits received at least a

rudimentary grenade training.

Care was taken that a man always picked up a bomb with the hand he intended to use to throw it, since to pass it from one hand to the other with the fuze lit risked fumbles and wasted time. Fuzed practice bombs with a lighter but no main charge could be used to check the finer points of throwing technique. In some battalions men were encouraged to count to three or five between lighting the fuze and throwing (or even 'zwei und zwanzig, drei und zwanzig, vier und zwanzig' — '22, 23, 24'), in order to shorten the fuze for a rapid explosion at short ranges. At Army level, however, this was absolutely forbidden, since it was feared that slow counters would be blown to pieces, and the anxious would be even more likely to throw hastily and wide. The usual delay of 5½ seconds was thought to give time for an accurate, deliberate throw, but not for an enemy to react⁽⁸⁾.

MI

Right:

Storm troops in training 'near Sedan' 1917 — presumably on the Beuville training-ground established by Willi Röhr's cadre unit the previous year. Their appearance is typical of this type of troops: puttees or loose trousers worn with ankle boots, and light assault equipment slung on the belt or back. The grenadier appears to have two sandbags for bombs slung under his arms. (Imperial War Museum)



Fig. 3

Stick handle

Cylinder head of German Stick Bomb

Lid removed

3" Zinc Pipe

End pinched in

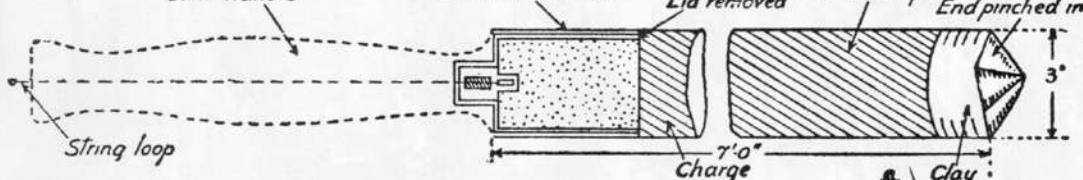


Fig. 4.

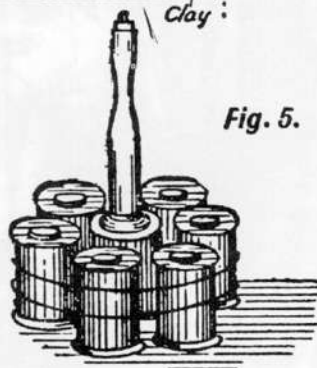
Detonator



Different methods of using multiple stick grenades as wire-breaching or obstacle-smashing charges, noted in

a contemporary British Army manual.

Fig. 5.



Notes

- (1) See 'British Grenade Tactics 1914-18', *Military Illustrated* No. 7, p. 30.
- (2) Instructions issued to the 3rd Bn., 235th Reserve Infantry Regt., December 1915.
- (3) Charles Edmonds (Carrington), *A Subaltern's War*, pp. 66-71 (London, 1929).
- (4) Orders issued to the 180th Infantry Regt., 28 February 1916.
- (5) *Nahkampfmittel*, para 38 (Berlin, 1917; English translation, May 1917).
- (6) Charles Messenger, *Hitler's Gladiator*, pp. 5-6 (London, 1988).
- (7) The assault companies of these units continued to follow the practices developed by *ad hoc* squads earlier in the war; personal equipment was lightened and simplified, and light and hand-to-hand weapons were employed — including, late in the war, the first sub-machine gun in the shape of the new Bergman MP18 (see *Handbook of the German Army*, 1917, pp. 38-47).
- (8) *Hand Grenade Training*, a British translation in *The Training and Employment of Bombers*, 1916, pp. 94-97.

Acknowledgements

I should particularly like to thank Mike Hibberd of the Imperial War Museum; Peter de Gryse of the Belgian Army Museum; the late Peter Hayes of the National Army Museum; Gerry Embleton of the Swiss Institute of Arms and Armour; and Paul Hannon, for their kind assistance and encouragement in the preparation of this article.

'The Old Red Coat'

British Army Uniform Variations, India, 1880s-1920s

PETER A. DERVIS

The popular conception of India during the Raj includes images of British soldiers dressed in khaki or white uniforms and solar topees, fighting Pathans on the North-West Frontier. While it is true that units stationed on the Frontier were outfitted with uniforms more suited to combat conditions than they would have been had they been stationed at home, it may be of some interest to note that a much higher degree of 'spit and polish' was maintained than might be supposed. Certainly until 1914, and in some cases later, a foreign service equivalent of full dress was worn by all ranks. Whether this included the normal full dress with the substitution of a tropical helmet, or the lightweight serge frock adapted for the hot climate, varied depending upon the regiment and season⁽¹⁾. In short, the variety of uniforms worn by the British soldier in India during the period from the Mutiny until the outbreak of the First World War was probably greater than at any other time or in any other locale.

The reason for this, of course, was largely to be found in the peculiar nature of service there. Troops serving in India found themselves in the paradoxical position of being on foreign service in a permanent station. This article, while in no way purporting to be an encyclopedic account of such a sartorial potpourri, examines through the accompanying photos the variety of uniforms which were actually worn, as opposed to those which were prescribed in Dress Regulations.

The first image (Fig.1) is a studio photograph of an officer of the 21st Hussars. Judging from the photographer's credit (P. Vuccino, Fort Bombay) and the position of the rank insignia, the photo dates from some time between 1888 and 1896, the period of the regiment's last tour of service in India before it became a regiment of Lancers in 1897.

The subject of the photo is wearing review order, con-

sisting of a full dress frogged tunic, gold laced overalls, gold laced belts, sabretache, and Wellington boots with spurs. His sword has a gold lace knot. Quite unusually, however, instead of the white foreign service pattern helmet with spike and chin chain authorised for this order of dress when regiments were assigned to tropical stations, he is shown with his busby as if on home service. This seems to be in conflict with contemporary textual evidence, which stated 'helmet with fittings, for India and other stations specified. Stations at which above helmet is worn: A. India Officers'.⁽²⁾

Generally speaking, when regiments were going overseas the full dress headgear was left in regimental stores. Officers' uniforms being their own property rather than government issue, it is not inconceivable that the subject of this photo brought his busby with him. However, this seems unusual, as the only other recorded



instance known to this author showing defiance of this custom occurred in 1903 at the Delhi Durbar, when the Earl of Lonsdale wore the Levee Dress of the Westmoreland and Cumberland Yeomanry complete with busby and pelisse⁽³⁾.

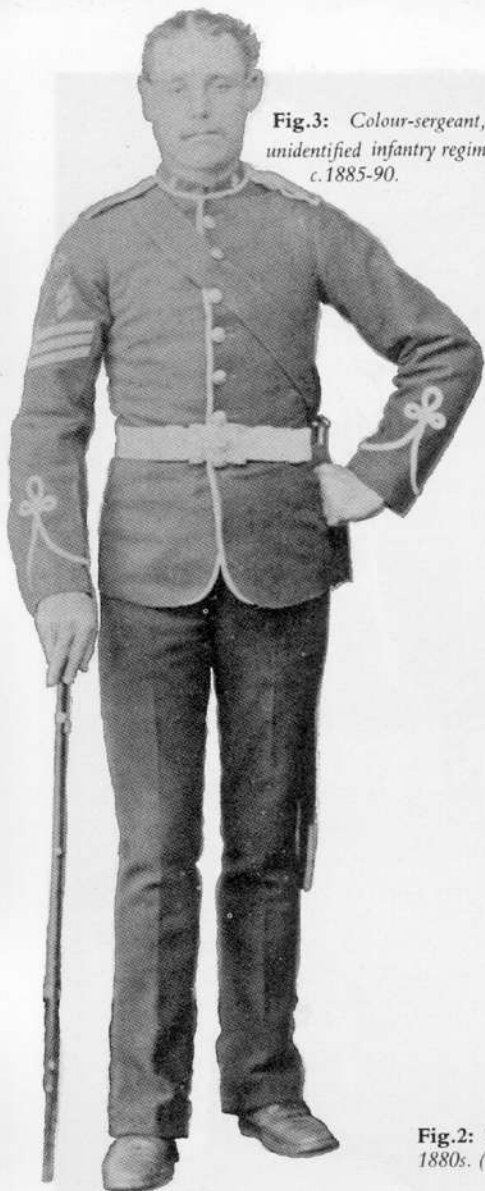
The second photo (Fig.2), a studio photograph by Burke, shows a trooper of the 7th Dragoon Guards in the 'cold weather' uniform worn for ceremonial order while the regiment was stationed in India during the 1880s. The most distinctive feature is the white foreign service helmet with spike and chin chain, worn in lieu of the brass dragoon helmet with black and white plume which was worn with full dress when the regiment was on home service. Special note should be made

Fig.1: Officer, 21st Hussars, c.1888-1896. (P. Vuccino, Bombay)

of the black velvet facings peculiar to this regiment; and of the very short skirts typical of the cavalry tunic of this era. It may surprise some readers that a garment of such obviously heavyweight fabric was worn in this climate; however, this was the regulation uniform for cold weather ceremonial order.

The following two photos show how much the dress of the seemingly uniform infantry could vary from unit to unit. Fig.3 shows a colour sergeant from an unidentified regiment circa 1885-1890. The unusual shape of the tunic skirts, piping, and crowsfoot knot on the cuffs in white tape, indicate that he is probably wearing a variation

Fig.3: Colour-sergeant, unidentified infantry regiment, c.1885-90.



on the lightweight so called 'Indian pattern' tunic, a concession to the climatic conditions of service on the sub-continent. This differed from the home service full dress tunic in a number of ways, not least in being made of a considerably thinner fabric. It tended also to have more in the way of embellishments; e.g. note the elaborate cuff ornament (a compensation for the fact that cuff facings were usually dispensed with). However, subsequent photos will illustrate that guidelines pertaining to these are rather nebulous.

The next image (**Fig.4**) illustrates another version of the lightweight tunic. The subject is an Other Rank from the Buffs (The East Kent Regiment) in what appears to be a garment made from rough serge. It is fastened with general list pattern buttons, has a white collar with white horse badges, and has

Fig.2: Trooper, 7th Dragoon Guards, 1880s. (Burke)



absolutely plain cuffs. The plain shoulder straps have titles. He wears a white waistbelt, carries a cane and, like the subject of the preceding photo, appears to be wearing Oxford mixture trousers with a red seam welt. The foreign service helmet on the table at his side is white with a gilt spike and curb chain, and a white pagri which bears the regimental dragon badge at the centre-front⁽⁴⁾.

This picture was taken shortly after the Cardwell Reforms of 1881, between 1887 and 1904 when the 1st Battalion was stationed in India. During this period the regiment was temporarily deprived of its buff facing colour and was required to wear the white facings allotted to non-royal English regiments. (The story of the regiment's quest to regain its distinctive colour is recounted in some detail in Gregory Blaxland's

group photo which appears on p.40 of Blaxland's book showing a number of men in India, dated 1899, and wearing something very similar to the tunic worn by the soldier in the preceding photo.

The next two photos (**Figs.5 and 6**) show Other Ranks from the famous 'Black Buttons' or Rifle Regiments, in the white uniforms so frequently associated with service in India. The presence of chevrons on both sleeves in **Fig.5** indicates that this was probably taken some time during the 1870s. Judging from the contrasting tones on the NCO's chevrons worn by both soldiers they were probably members of the King's Royal Rifle Corps, who wore black chevrons on a red backing, unlike the Rifle Brigade, who wore black chevrons without any contrasting background.

The lack of any visible buttons, the apparently temporary attachment of the chevrons, and the looseness of the garments tend to indicate that they might be wearing fatigue dress. It is also highly probable that this was in fact not even a regulation uniform. As one might surmise from the preceding photos, the authorities were not deeply concerned with

now long out-of-print *Men-at-Arms* book *The Buffs*, published by Osprey in 1972.)

The differences between the tunic worn by the soldier in this picture and that of sergeant in the previous photo emphasise the quasi-regulated status of dress in India. The lack of any piping or embellishments suggests that it might even be the serge frock as worn by regiments at home stations as a second-best tunic. One factor which would support this is the

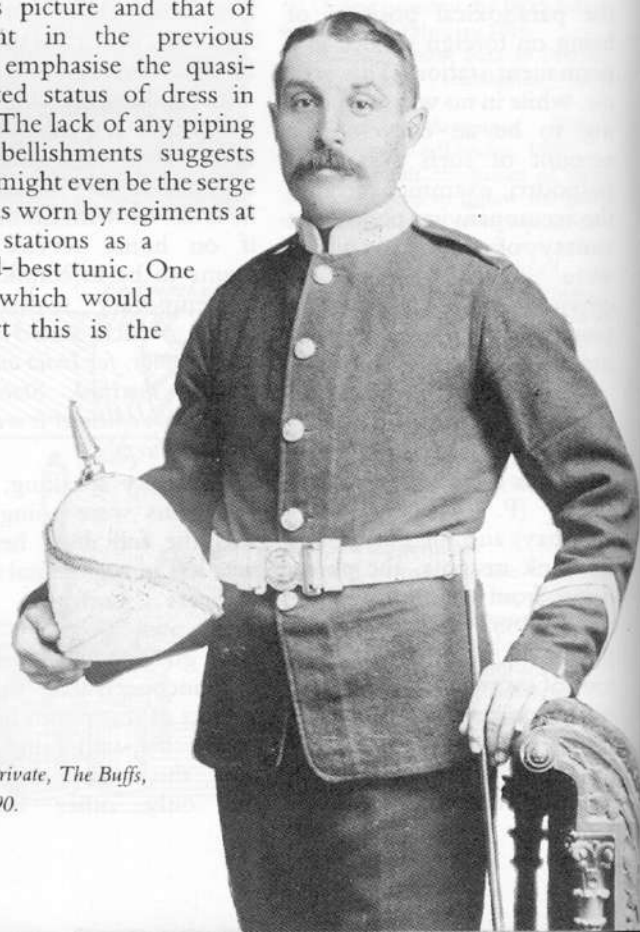


Fig.4: Private, The Buffs, c.1887-90.

the practical qualities of the uniform; such concessions to conditions or climate as were made tended to be determined at the regimental level.

One unusual item seen in this photo is the khaki foreign service helmet with coloured pagri and bronze spike, a somewhat irregular and precocious innovation for this period: the usual issue was white, as seen in the previous figures. Officers on active service occasionally bought khaki helmets, but generally speaking, when necessary the white one was covered with a khaki cover. Interestingly, the bronze spike was a distinction peculiar to Rifle Regiments when wearing this headgear. Coloured pagris were virtually unknown at this time except by British officers of a few Indian Cavalry regiments.

Fig.6, credited to R.J. Divecha, Cawnpore, shows a young soldier from the Rifle Brigade some 40 years later. The fatigue uniform of the preceding photo has been smartened up. It is a well-fitting, tailored garment, complete with cherished black horn regimental buttons and unit shoulder insignia. Atop his head is the field service cap with regimental badge; of little practical use in

Fig.5: Sergeants, King's Royal Rifle Corps, 1870s.



India, when coupled with his cane it gives him a certain swagger.

Fig.7 is a photo of an Other Rank of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders in foreign service ceremonial order. Both battalions of the regiment were stationed in India during the early part of the century. Certain features visible in this man's uniform are very peculiar. He is wearing the scarlet serge frock (doublet style) authorised for Scottish regiments as a second-best uniform and worn

Fig.6: Rifleman, Rifle Brigade, c.1910. (R.J. Divecha, Cawnpore)



on foreign service in full dress. It had gauntlet cuffs, and pocket slashes imitating the Inverness flaps of the doublet. Unusually, the collar appears to be the same colour as the body of the garment, whereas the cuffs seem to be in a contrasting shade, which one must assume to be the facing colour, yellow. The frock, which had fewer buttons down the front, also lacked the front piping of the full dress uniform. Included in this order of dress is the kilt, full dress sporran, coloured hose, white spats, belt and Wolseley pattern helmet with regimental badge, brass spike and pagri.

Two features of this man's dress are rather puzzling. Firstly, he is wearing a full plaid, something authorised only for pipers, drummers, bandsmen, sergeants and warrant officers, and commissioned ranks. As he does not appear to be wearing any

Fig.7: Private, Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, c.1900-1910.

musician's insignia, and the crossed rifles of his proficiency badge would tend to indicate otherwise, the wearing of the full plaid and brooch appears to be something of a mystery. The small white hackle worn in his helmet is a rather surprising embellishment, as authorisation for it does not appear in the Dress Regulations for 1900, 1904 or 1911.

Perhaps this was a locally ordered distinction borne as a regimental expense, another possible example of the sartorial freedom exercised by units when they were on foreign service.

The two soldiers in **Fig.8** show the alternative form of dress authorised for Scottish regiments in ceremonial order or walking-out dress. They are privates from the Highland Light Infantry, the 1st Battalion of which was

stationed in India from 1905 to 1914. The uniform is exactly as described by Douglas Anderson and James B. MacKay in their book *The Highland Light Infantry*. The most noteworthy feature of this order of dress is the white drill frock. It has no external pockets, which by this date is a little old fashioned, and no collar badges. However, there is a brass 'H.L.I.' and bugle horn on each shoulder strap⁽⁵⁾. The Wolseley helmet has a pagri surmounted by a patch of Mackenzie tartan, and a cloth-covered zinc button on top rather than the ceremonial spike. Observers of modern military uniforms may find the cut of the netherwear of some interest. Today tartan trews are cut very full in the leg; the trews of Mackenzie sett worn by the men in the photo are cut snugly to the leg, and almost resemble the shape of overalls as worn by officers in mess kit.



Fig.10: Lance-Bombardier, Royal Horse Artillery, c.1900-1910.

Left: Fig.8: Privates, Highland Light Infantry, c.1905-14.

The next two photos (**Figs.9 and 10**) are of interest for illustrating the wide disparity between, and latitude afforded to, individual units regarding dress. Both are portraits of gunners from the Royal Horse Artillery during the first few years of this century. **Fig.9** is in cold weather walking-out dress, which was full dress, except that the busby was replaced by the forage cap. This uniform included Wellington boots, spurs, overalls, and the heavily braided 'jacket', the sartorial pride of the unit. Most unusually, this gunner had equipped himself with an item which as far as the author has been able to ascertain was not an issue: his forage cap has a white cover of the type which officers used

to purchase to keep the coloured crowns of their caps from fading from exposure to the sun. In all other respects he is dressed exactly as if he were stationed at Aldershot.

Fig.10 is a studio shot of a Rough Rider lance bombardier in hot weather ceremonial order. His white drill uniform includes a very tight, highly starched white frock, overalls, Wellington boots, spurs, caplines, and, on the table next to him, a white Wolseley pattern helmet with brass artillery ball ornament



Fig.9: Gunner, Royal Horse Artillery, c.1900-1910.

and chin chain. It does not, however, seem to have a badge. This uniform was authorised for mounted troops as a hot weather substitute full dress. It does seem, however, that there were a number of variations, including the wearing of full dress



netherwear. In fact this particular fashion was a major bone of contention between King George V and HRH The Prince of Wales during the latter's tour of India in 1922⁽⁶⁾.

One particularly noticeable feature of this man's uniform is that it includes full dress caplines, with an order of dress which by its very nature would have precluded the wearing of the busby, and thus serving no practical purpose even in a ceremonial function. It should also be noted that his rank and trade insignia are very loosely attached so as to be easily removable for laundering the uniform, which must have been constant. The absence of the steel mail shoulder chains usually allowed to Cavalry and the Royal Horse Artillery at this time is also noteworthy; perhaps this economy was also made with the convenience of the battery laundry in mind.

The next photo (Fig.11), which I suspect is from the same series as Fig.10 (they were both purchased in the

same shop in Ottawa, Canada), is an unusual formal shot of a group of Other Ranks mostly wearing off duty uniforms as authorised for India during the first decade of the 20th century. They are from a number of different units. Included is an infantry bandsman (fifth man, rear) in what may be a lightweight version of the full dress tunic. The ornamentation on his wings is rather unorthodox in that it is merely a light tracing braid rather than the more usual heavily striped pattern. The tunic also lacks the front piping associated with the full dress garment. There appears to be a private from the same regiment in a similar tunic with dark facings. Several figures are wearing the coloured serge frock, with patch pockets; two are from a Fusilier regiment, according to their collar badges, and two have no distinguishing badges. Three are wearing shoulder cords, which would tend to date it as an early pattern of this garment.

In the front row are two

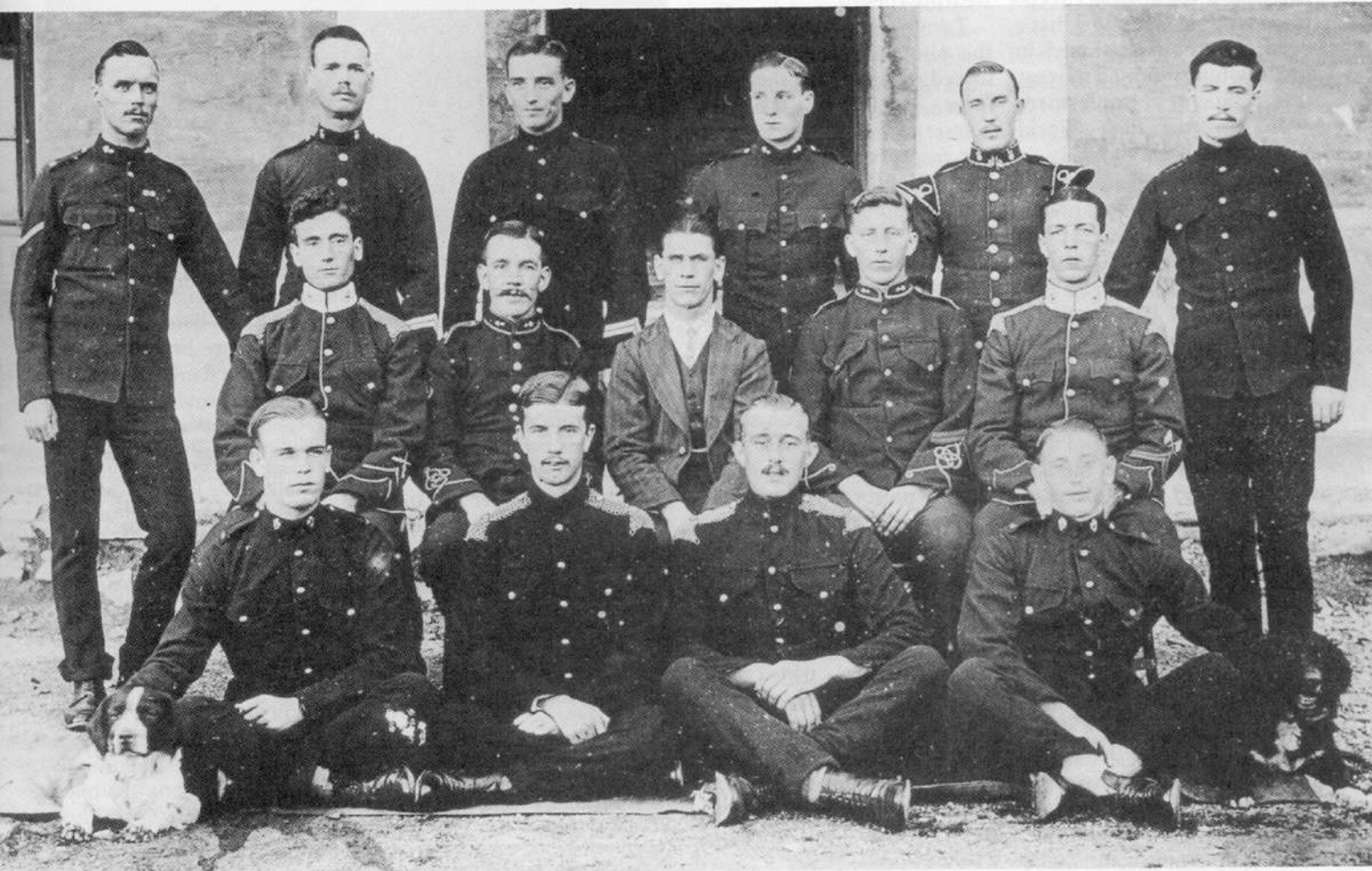
soldiers with the blue serge frocks and shoulder chains — they are not Cavalry troopers, but gunners from the Royal Horse Artillery, exercising this mounted arms distinction granted them early in the century. Note the metal 'R.H.A.' shoulder titles on the shoulder chains.

In the second row on either side of the man in civilian clothes are two Royal Artillery gunners. The one on his right is in full dress, the one on his left is wearing a form of frock peculiar to the regiment. It is virtually the same as the full dress with the addition of patch pockets on the breast and fewer button closures. The braiding is, however, slightly different: note that the cuff braid seems only to be on the front of the sleeve. The two soldiers sitting in the front row on either side of the R.H.A. gunners are wearing the coloured frock, and their collar badges would indicate that they are from an Irish regiment.

The last two figures in this photo (first and fifth, centre) are perhaps the most interest-

ing. They are wearing the Cavalry pattern frock with shoulder chains. Their death's-head collar badges proclaim that they are members of the 17th Lancers (Duke of Cambridge's Own); however, there are some very unusual features visible in their dress. First and foremost is that their jackets are quite obviously of a lighter shade than those worn by the other men in the photograph. As the regiment's uniform was blue, it most certainly is that colour — perhaps it was a lightweight garment made up in a lighter shade of blue. Secondly, their collars are adorned with what appear to be large gorget patches in their facing colour, white. This regimental peculiarity has been continued to the present day in the Number 1 dress of Other Ranks. Lastly, their Lancer distinction is perpetuated in the piping on the cuffs, sleeves, front, and

Fig.11: Group c.1900-1910 of infantrymen, Fusiliers, Royal Artillery and Royal Horse Artillery gunners, and 17th Lancers — see text for discussion of individuals.



skirts of the jackets. The lack of any skirt pockets on their frocks would also seem to indicate that these were of an unusual pattern adapted by the regiment for service in India.

It should be noted that none of the frocks on the men in the photo seem to have skirt pockets, regardless of regiment or corps. This is interesting, for it seems that as the frock or patrol jacket was standardised, this became one of its distinctive features. Also of interest are the varying shapes of the flaps on the breast pockets. Some are of the conventional three-pointed variety, others have an almost triangular look. As an aside, it appears that all ranks, including mounted personnel, are wearing trousers.

One last point to be made here is that during the period between the Boer War and the First World War this order of dress was not a general issue for Other Ranks. Frocks were generally limited to some NCOs, and Other Ranks on specific duties, such as orderlies. The most notable exception to this seems to have been for troops stationed in India, who continued to wear this uniform in some cases even into the First World War.

Fig.12 is a rather unusual 'candid' shot of what appears to be a regimental sports meeting of the Oxfordshire Light Infantry around 1907, when the 1st Battalion was stationed in India. Most of the people in the picture are in civilian clothes or racing colours, possibly attending an officers' race meeting. There are, however, three men in uniform, and their dress is most interesting. They are wearing blue serge frocks, Oxford mixture trousers and khaki topees. One has a red sash across his shoulder and sergeant's stripes, the others appear to be privates. The most unusual feature of their dress is the sergeant's collar devices. It has been frequently noted that officers of this regiment wore buttons and gorget lines instead of the more conventional collar

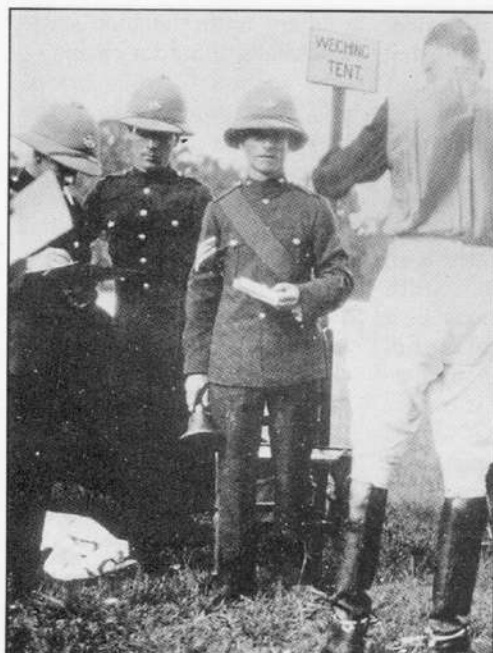


Fig.12: Regimental sports meeting, Oxfordshire Light Infantry, c.1907.

badges. It appears that in India at least this idiosyncrasy was extended to Other Ranks. It is confirmed by photos appearing in the Regimental Journal for 1907, which show all ranks in khaki wearing these⁽⁷⁾.

Two noticeable features of this photo are the wearing of mixed colours in the uniform, e.g. khaki Wolseley helmet and blue serge tunic and trousers; and the fact that one soldier is smoking. Such combinations were not unusual in India, where Other Ranks did not as a rule possess civilian clothes; consequently they were allowed a certain personal latitude in their undress. For the soldier to be smoking confirms that the situation is social rather than official, and gives some sense of the off-duty standing of this uniform. It must be remembered that undress for non-commissioned officers was generally privately purchased.

The last photo in the group (**Fig.13**) is of a rifleman from the King's Royal Rifle Corps during the early 1920s. He is wearing a khaki topee, drill jacket, shorts, and spiral puttees. Gone is the pre-War colour; however, his uniform is highly starched and he carries a cane.

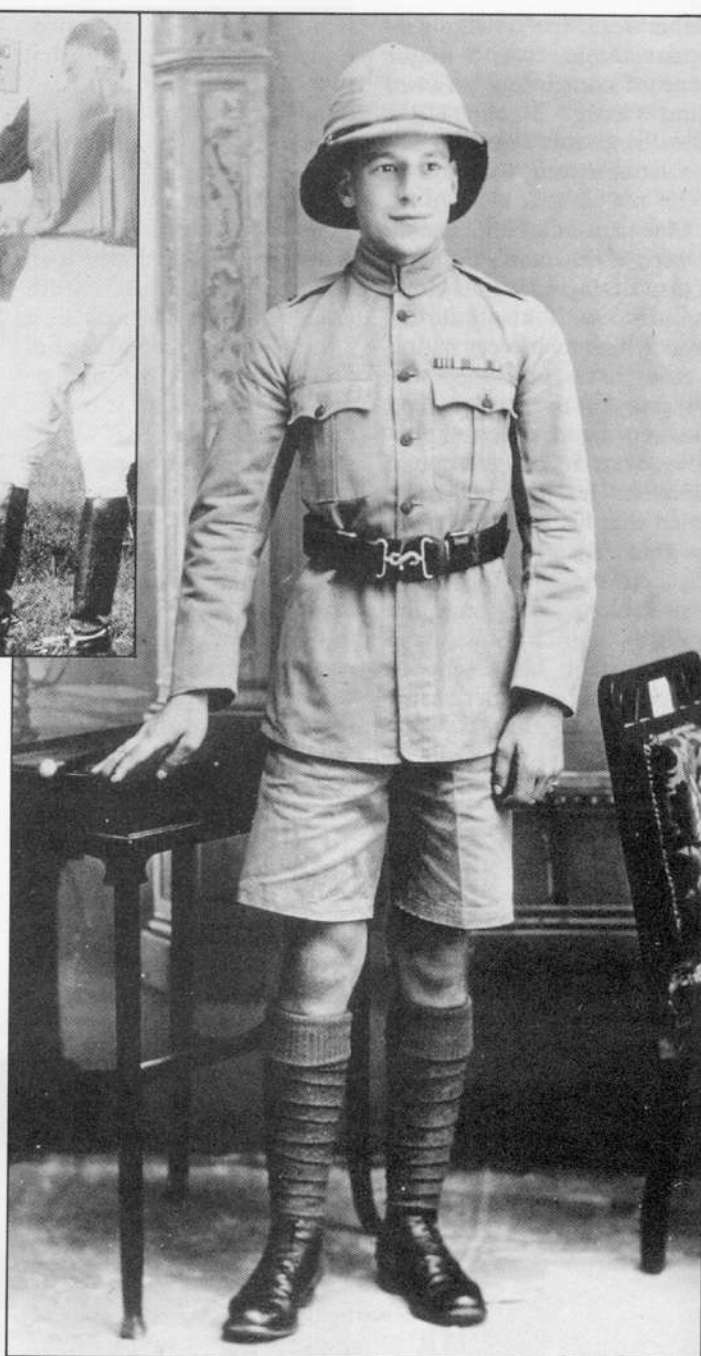


Fig.13: Rifleman, King's Royal Rifle Corps, early 1920s.

Thus, while the photos reproduced here are not in any way a comprehensive view of military dress in India during this period, the reader may observe that the dress of the British soldier in India was extremely varied and, to say the least, colourful. **[M]**

Notes

- (1) Some units wore a 'hot weather' full dress consisting of an all-white kit.
- (2) *Dress Regulation For Officers Of The Army*, Horseguards, War Office, 17 May 1883.
- (3) This photograph was reproduced in *The Victorian and Edwardian Army from Old Photographs* by John Fabb (B.T. Batsford, London and Sydney, 1975), figure 69.
- (4) However, the collar badge was changed: p.21 'But on the collars it

was replaced by the white horse'. *The Buffs*, Gregory Blaxland (Osprey Publishing Ltd., 1972).

(5) According to James B. Mackay and Douglas Anderson in their book *The Highland Light Infantry* (published by the authors, 1977), p.63: 'A brass stringed bugle was added in about 1909'.

(6) *Windsor Revisited* (Houghton-Mifflin Co.), p.125-126: 'In this as in most niceties of uniform my father was perfectly correct. . . To India he wrote to me the following year: "I am surprised to see you and your staff are wearing blue overalls with your white tunics. . . as white overalls have always been worn with white tunics by the Army in India"'.
(7) Photo opposite p.44, *Oxfordshire Light Infantry Chronicle 1907* (Eyre & Spottiswoode, London).

Introduction to French Airborne Camouflage Uniforms, 1952-62

MARTIN WINDROW

Based on original research by DENIS LASSUS

Drawings by CHRISTA HOOK

In recent years increasing numbers of militaria collectors and military history enthusiasts in the English-speaking countries have become aware of the many deeply interesting aspects of France's wars in Indochina, 1946-54, and Algeria, 1954-62. Perhaps inevitably, it is the units of the Foreign Legion and the *Troupes Aéroportées* which attract immediate attention, by their colourful and — to Anglo-Saxon eyes — exotic uniforms and insignia as much as by their dramatic combat record. Since it is now possible to find French militaria of the period outside France, it is hoped that this article may be useful to collectors attracted by the famous '*tenue léopard*' of the French *paras*, which exists in a number of different versions.

It is strongly emphasised that this article is based very substantially upon the work published in French — in *Militaria* magazine Nos. 3,4,6,7,8,9 and 10 — by M.Denis Lassus. His superbly detailed series covers the unit identity, headgear, combat dress and personal equipment of the French paratrooper from 1946 to 1962, and is lavishly illustrated, including many colour photographs. By permission, the present writer offers here for non-French readers an edited translation of part of that series, which remains the only serious work published for the specialist reader on that subject, in any language.

The scope of this present article does not extend to the use by French paratroops in Indochina of camouflage clothing of British and American origin in the period prior to 1952 (though it is covered in depth in the *Militaria* series). Our purpose here is to describe, and illustrate in new schematic drawings, the various models of the French-designed and manufactured camouflage uniform.

It must also be added that for an in-depth study of the

actual colours and mimetic patterns of camouflage cloth used there is no substitute for *Militaria* No.9, in which M.Lassus differentiates and illustrates no less than 11 variants.

THE UNIFORMS

Two points need making before the different models of uniform are described. Firstly, because seven distinct models appeared between 1952 and 1957, several types are to be seen in most photographs showing any given unit at any given date. The same is true of the actual camouflage patterns, which were employed promiscu-

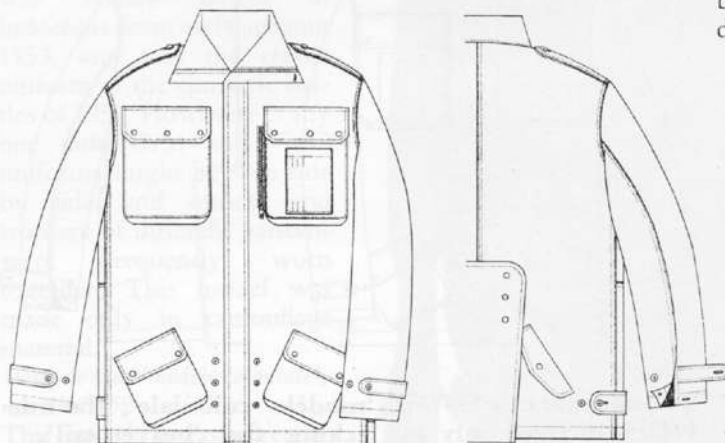


ously. Secondly, because numerous minor modifications were ordered while manufacturing orders were in progress through the system, it is not unknown to find hybrid garments showing characteristics of more than one official model.

Tenue de saut modèle 1947

This was produced in 'dark khaki' (a variable shade of drab, sometimes tending to grey-green, sometimes to a yellower shade) under *Notices Techniques* 31-10 and 31-20 of

March 1949. First issued to units based in France and French North Africa, it reached Indochina at the end of 1950. It was first issued at the *Base Aéroportée Sud* (Airborne Base South — Saigon), and later spread gradually among the paratroop units. It was made of a material termed *croisé coton 320*; since units in the field were generally equipped by this time with lighter-weight uniforms, many of them of foreign camouflage patterns, it was common for the mle 1947 uniform to be kept for barracks and walking-out dress.



Above

Dien Bien Phu, 29 November 1953: a warrant officer of a parachute battalion decorated with the Croix de Guerre TOE during a visit by Gens. Navarre and Coghny. He wears the 'fantasy' beret made from US camouflage material which had been popular in some units since about 1950, and French mle 1947/52 camouflage smock and trousers. (ECP Armées)

Veste de saut mle 1947

Veste de saut mle 1947

('Jump smock M1947')

'Bellows' breast pockets 180mm wide, with rectangular flaps of 190mm, were fastened by two snap-fasteners, each with two possible positions. There was an inside pocket in the right breast; a second in the left could be reached from the outside, its vertical opening up the inner edge of the external breast pocket being fastened with a zip which did not extend the full height of the pocket. A small patch pocket on the face of the left breast pocket had tape pencil loops sewn in.

The two bellows skirt pockets were 160mm wide; mounted on a slant, bottom inwards, they had similar flaps and fastening to the breast pockets, but no internal pockets and no outer patch pocket.

The collar, modelled on that of the Denison smock, was 95mm broad. The front central closure was by a zip from the waist to the upper edge of the collar, this being concealed by a fly covering eight buttons. (These, and all other buttons used on these uniforms of various models, were conventional four-hole items of brown plastic.)

There were buttoned shoulder straps; and backwards-buttoning tightening tabs low on each hip at the sides. The cuffs could be tightened by forwards-buttoning tabs; a rear vent was closed by a small button on the inside surface of the cuff hem.

The rear of the smock had two further pockets, internal but with external flaps cut *en accolade*, each closed by one snap-fastener; these were placed low and on a slant, bottom inwards, on each side of a fabric 'beaver tail' copied from that of the Denison smock. Two snap-fasteners held this up at the back when not in use; three pairs on the inner surface of the 'tail' and three pairs spaced up the front between the skirt pockets allowed adjustable attachment between the legs.

Pantalon de saut mle 1947

('Jump trousers M1947')

These had two side 'slash'

pockets, two rear pockets, and two large cargo pockets on the outer faces of the thighs. The right hand slash pocket was plain; the left hand one closed with a zip. The rear pockets were inter-

nal, with external flaps *en accolade* each closed by a single snap-fastener. The cargo pockets were of bellows design, with an internal pleat down the centre of each. The rectangular flaps closed with a

snap-fastener in each corner. The hem at the ankle tightened with a drawstring, the ends emerging from holes each side of the outside seam, which had a short vent at the bottom.

Camouflage uniforms

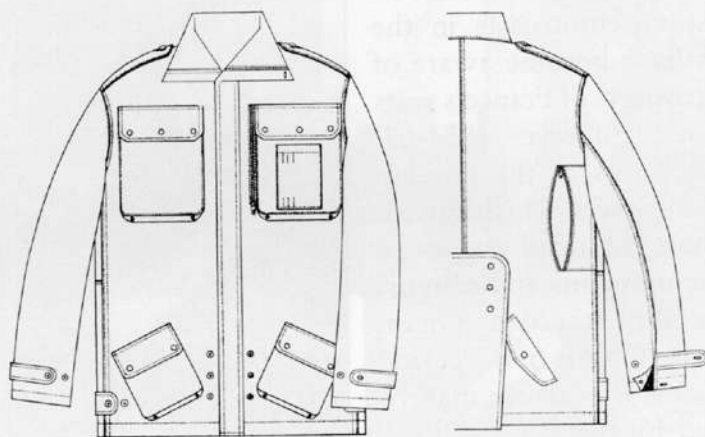
There was an experimental issue of the smock (but not the trousers) in camouflage-printed material to the 1st Régiment de Hussards Parachutistes for an exercise in Germany in September 1952. Since camouflage clothing was felt more necessary for the Far East Expeditionary Corps, then fighting desperately in Indochina, camouflage versions of this uniform were subsequently ordered reserved for Far East issue and the dark khaki for European issue. In fact the camouflaged mle 1947 was not issued in Indochina.

Tenue de saut 'modèle coloniale', mle 1947/51

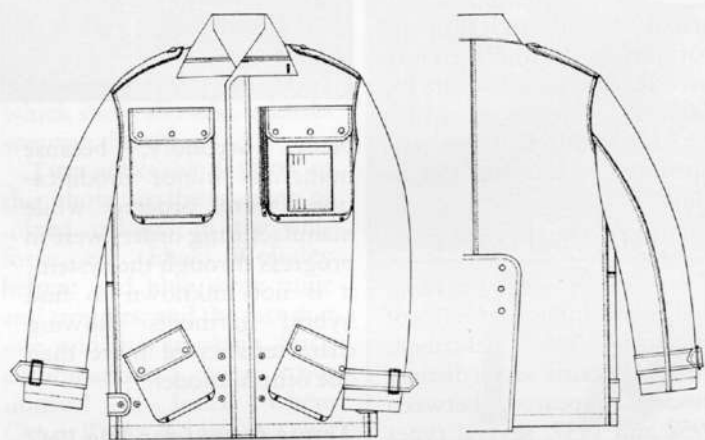
The *Notice Technique* of July 1951 brought together various minor modifications ordered between 1949 and 1951. The result was the mle 1947/51 uniform, which was the first camouflage uniform of French design and manufacture to be issued in Indochina. In its original dark khaki version the 47/51 reached the Far East late in 1952. From the beginning of summer 1953 a version in a distinctively — and, as it transpired, unsuitably — pale camouflage pattern of red-brown and light green on a sand-khaki ground was issued to paratroopers of the Expeditionary Corps. Numbers in use were relatively limited, however, since further modifications were already being incorporated into the manufacturing process.

Veste de saut 'modèle coloniale', mle 1947/51

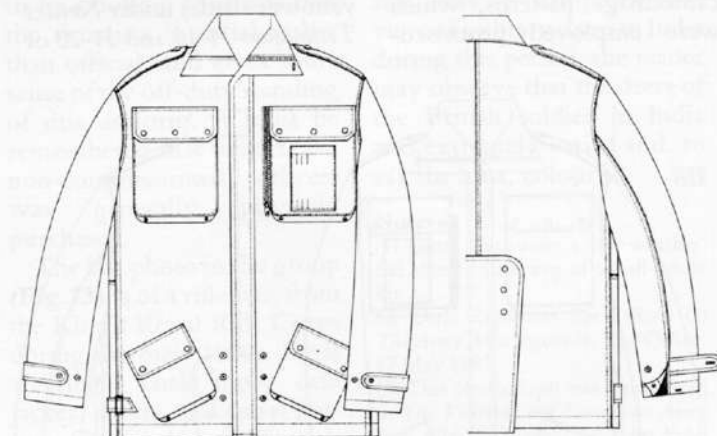
Differences from the mle 1947 were as follows. A third snap-fastener was added centrally to the flaps of the slightly enlarged breast pockets; the zip up the inner edge of the left breast pocket now extended to the top. Each of the four front pockets now



Veste de saut mle 1947/51, 'modèle coloniale'



Veste de saut mle 1947/52, 'modèle coloniale'



Veste de saut mle 1947/53, 'modèle coloniale'; the mle 1947/54 differed only in lacking the 'beaver tail'.



received a drainage eyelet in each bottom corner of the bellows gusset. All snap-fasteners, normally khaki and of French design on the mle 1947, now became blackened brass, of US design. The broad tightening tabs at the hips now buttoned forwards. Most noticeably, 240mm-long zipped ventilation slits were added in the rear seams, high on each side.

Pantalon de saut 'modèle tropical', mle 1947/51

These differed from the mle 1947 mainly in having three small front pockets added to the thighs, one on the right and two on the left; these were of bellows type, with single-point flaps closed by a button. These, and the side cargo pockets, had drainage eyelets in each bottom corner. The snap-fasteners were of US type, of blackened brass. The side slash pockets varied: on some examples both were zipped, on some the left pocket only. The vents at the bottom of the outer leg seams had small internal gussets. The

waistband could be tightened by a central front tab with a sliding-clamp buckle. Like the smock, the trousers were sometimes manufactured of the lighter-grade *croisé coton* 310 material.

Tenue de saut modèle 1947/52

Various modifications had appeared by the end of 1952, added progressively during manufacturing runs. Documentary records concerning the ordering and manufacture of the mle 1947/52 appear to have been lost; but this model was widely issued in Indochina from early autumn 1953, and was the classic uniform of the climactic battles of 1954. However, in any one unit 47/51 and 47/52 uniforms might be seen side by side, and smocks and trousers of different patterns were frequently worn together. This model was made only in camouflage material.

Veste de saut 'modèle coloniale', mle 1947/52

This smock is easily recog-

nised by the wrist tightening method: a broad fabric strap passing round the wrist, fastened with a large sliding-clamp buckle. The 'beaver tail' was retained, but the zippered ventilation slits and the two rear pockets now disappeared. The breadth of the collar was reduced to 55mm. Two large ventilation eyelets were added under each armpit.

Pantalon de saut mle 1947/52

The three small front pockets now closed with snap-fasteners instead of buttons. The vents and gussets disappeared from the bottoms of the legs. Only the left hand slash pocket had a zip. The waistband

continued on page 32

On Bastille Day, 14 July 1954, some 10,000 troops paraded defiantly in Hanoi just two months after the fall of Dien Bien Phu. These NCOs, distinguishable by uncovered képis with gold chinstraps, lead their company of the 2^e Bataillon Etranger de Parachutistes, a unit rapidly rebuilt by wholesale reinforcements from the 3^e BEP shortly after the annihilation of the first two Foreign Legion parachute battalions at Dien Bien Phu. They are dressed in the mle 1947/52 uniform; note that the camouflage pattern falls differently on the various parts of each uniform, no two men being exactly alike. (ECP Armées)

Below:

Rear view of the veste de saut mle 1947/53, the last to have the 'beaver tail'. This variation of the camouflage pattern (apparently A2 under Lassus's system of classification) has a notably 'feathery' and broken secondary pattern. (Wayne R. Braby)





The fanion of the 1^{er} Escadron, 1^{er} Régiment de Hussards Parachutistes, is paraded in the field in the Mila sector of Algeria, south of the Collo Peninsula, in the winter of 1959/60. The 1^{er} RHP was one of the regiments of the 25^e Division Parachutiste. These

men appear to wear mle 1947/56 uniforms with the 'casquette Bigeard'. The caps and trousers of the two nearest soldiers are in a pattern in which the brown (secondary) overlays the green (primary), in contrast to the smocks. The blue scarf tied at the left shoulder is a

squadron identification. Webbing equipment is of the mle 1950 'type TAP' system, including magazine pouches for the two MAT49 sub-machine guns and double pouches for the MAS36 rifle, here in its MAS36/51 version. (Jérôme Bodin)

(1) Pantalon de saut mle 1947/52, in a camouflage pattern (Lassus 'C1') used only on this model of uniform, in dark khaki (ground), pale olive (secondary) and dark brown (primary). Braces in uniform cloth were issued with all pantalons de saut.

(2) Veste de saut mle 1947/53, in what appears to be a pattern (Lassus 'F1') introduced in 1953 and seen on uniforms mle 1947/53, /54 and /56: light green ground with brown (secondary) and dark green (primary), the colours here faded. This is very similar to the scheme classified by Lassus as 'A1', used on uniforms mle 1947, 1947/53 and /54, but in fact varies in slight details.

(3) Pantalon de saut mle 1947/56, in an 'F'-type scheme with brown overlaying the green.

(4) Camouflaged tent-quarter; although the patterns varied, the colours remained light khaki with a brown secondary, often reddish in shade, and a green primary.

(5) The standard issue French khaki bush-hat, widely used as field headgear by paratroopers in Indochina.

(6) Beret in 'bleu-roi', as worn with the badge of the Troupes Aéroportées, by Metropolitan units (Bns. de Choc, and de Chasseurs Parachutistes) in Indochina 1948-51, in Algeria 1954-57, and in Europe 1948-57. This is the 'beret type commando' with two-part construction, as made pre-1953.

(7) Maroon beret (in practice, often nearer a dark scarlet) with the TAP badge, and special knot device worn by the 1^{er} Régiment de Hussards Parachutistes since September 1957.

(8) Maroon beret, with the badge adopted for all Colonial units 1958-62, and again since 1974. The maroon beret with standard TAP badge was worn by all Colonial and Metropolitan parachute units in Indochina, by order of Gen. de Lattre, from March 1951. In September 1957 blue-beret Metropolitan units in Europe and Algeria were ordered back into the maroon beret; and for this reason the red-beret Colonial (later 'Marine') paratroopers were given this badge, to differentiate them from the Chasseurs Parachutistes, who continued to wear it with the TAP badge.

(9) Green beret of the Bataillons — later, Régiments — Etrangers de Parachutistes of the Foreign Legion, always with the TAP cap badge. Worn sporadically in Indochina from 1948, it was not in fact officially authorised until 1957; it was in Algeria, from 1954, that its use became universal. Legion paras never wore any other coloured beret, nor did they wear the 'casquette Bigeard'.

(10) Casquette en toile type TAP, mle 1959. Universally known after Col. Bigeard (of the 6^e BPC in Indochina³¹) and the 3^e



RPC in Algeria), it represented the final compromise solution to a long process of experiment in the search for a smart but convenient field headgear. In Indochina this search was conducted by individual units: some produced small-brimmed bush-hats in British or American

camouflage material; some made berets, in American or French camouflage material; some individuals made reversible berets, maroon outside, American camouflage inside. Many, by 1954, were wearing locally-made 'baseball'-type caps of British, American or

French camouflage materials; notable were those worn by the 8^e BPC and the 6^e BPC at the time of Dien Bien Phu. Bigeard pursued the question when back in Algeria, outfitting his 3^e RPC with this cap combining elements of the baseball cap and the Japanese jungle cap. It

became the trademark in Algeria of the paras, and of various other personnel who wished to make themselves look dramatic; and became official issue with this 1959 model.

See 'MI' No. 3 pp. 49-52.

While French camouflage patterns displayed many slight changes, the general characteristics were consistent. They were formed by applying two colours, one over the other, on a ground colour (there are two known variants in which a third camouflage colour is faintly visible, close up).

The ground colour was that of the fabric, inside and out — these uniforms were not reversible. Up to and including the mle 1947/54 uniform this was 'dark khaki' or 'khaki green' in most cases (the mle 1947/51 was produced with a light khaki ground). Mle 1947/53 and /54 were produced in both khaki and light green, the /56 only in light green.

The camouflage colours were brown, varying from pale orange-ochre to dark chocolate, but normally a red-brown shade; and green, varying from leaf green to black-green, but normally an olive shade.

The patterns were built up by superimposing primary and secondary patterns, as in our illustration 3.

The primary pattern (1) was made up of fairly narrow, hard-edged 'brush strokes', feathering off into streaks at the ends, and with many diagonal branches and hooks. The secondary pattern (2) formed a series of roughly horizontal 'waves', feathered at the ends and 'frayed' at the edges.

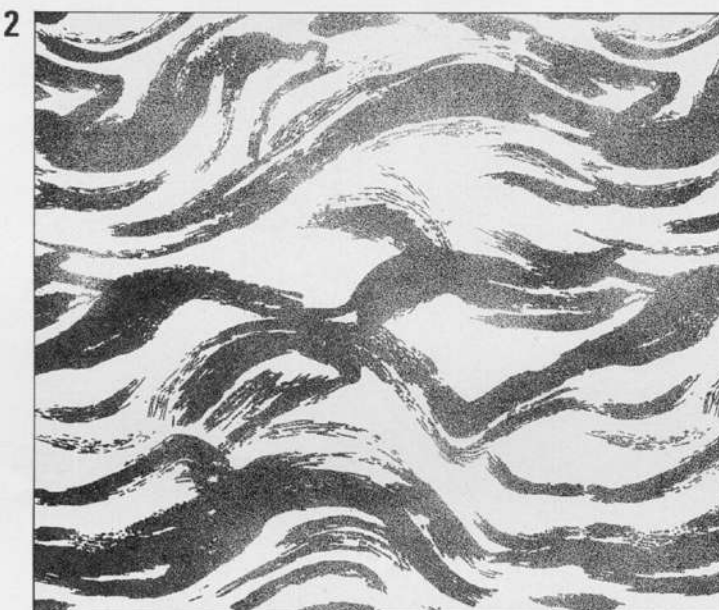
Among the many variants are examples of either green or brown being used for either primary or secondary patterns; of the primary being printed over the secondary, and — less often — of the secondary being printed over the primary. Sometimes one colour is so much stronger than the other that it appears dominant; sometimes they are so similar in intensity that it is hard to tell which is printed over which. Some patterns have larger streaks, some smaller; some harder-edged, some more broken and 'feathery'.

Given the random way in which the different patterns were produced and issued, and the infinite variety of effects created by mis-matched garments fading at different rates, it was quite common to see a para in Algeria wearing cap, smock and trousers of widely differing appearance. (Drawings, Selwyn Hutchinson)

was narrower; and two buttons showed at the front centre. Tightening tabs, with small sliding-clamp buckles, were mounted on each hip behind the outer leg seam.

Tenue de saut modèle 1947/53

This was produced in both dark khaki and camouflage fabric. Since the Expeditionary Corps airborne units had already been equipped with



earlier models, its manufacture was not urgent; and it worked its way through the

Intendance system between autumn 1953 and late spring 1954. It was not seen in

Indochina except on an individual basis; it was issued in France in dark khaki, and to units in North Africa in dark khaki and, much more widely, in camouflage. The modifications from the previous pattern, enshrined in an order of April 1953, were as follows:

Veste de saut 'modèle coloniale', mle 1947/53

The wrist tightening tabs were once more of the forward-buttoning type. The hip tightening tabs became narrower, and had sliding-clamp buckles. The collar was further reduced in width to 50mm. Four ventilation eyelets were fitted in the armpits.

Pantalon de saut mle 1947/53

The three small front pockets disappeared. The hip tightening tabs were moved forward slightly. There were no visible buttons at the front of the waistband. The drawstrings in the bottom hems emerged from holes in the inside rather than the outside surfaces.

A minor feature was that from this model onwards, the insides of pockets were made of the same cloth as the rest of the uniform, and not of *crêtonne* as before.

Tenue de saut modèle 1947/54

The many minor alterations since 1951 led to a complete revision of the *Notices Techniques* in April 1954. The resulting uniform was issued to units in the process of formation or re-equipment from 1955. The only changes from the 47/53 pattern were: the disappearance of the 'beaver tail' from the smock; the appearance of one visible button at the front centre of the trouser waistband; and the reversion of the snap-fasteners throughout to khaki finish. This pattern was made in both camouflage and dark khaki cloth.

Tenue de saut modèle 1947/56

The last major changes were established by a *Notice Technique* of May 1956. This uniform appeared in both dark khaki and camouflage versions; it was often made of

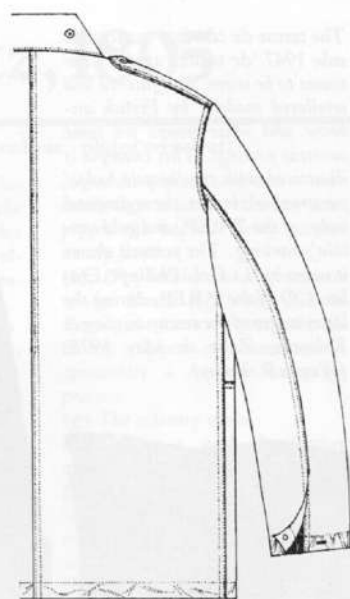
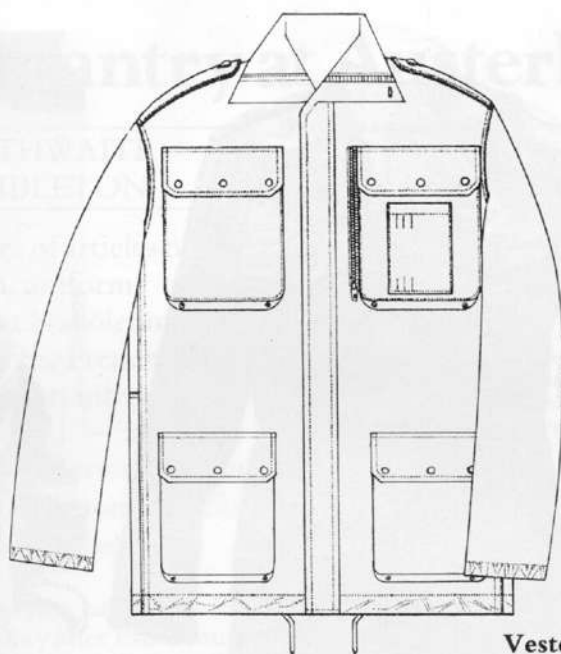


Paratroopers at Port Fouad, Egypt, 22 December 1956. They appear to wear mle 1947/53 or /54 uniforms.

chevron croisé 280, a lighter fabric than the previously used *croisé coton* 320 and *reps* 300 fabrics.

Veste de saut mle 1947/56

The skirt pockets were enlarged, and placed vertically rather than on a slant; a third, central snap-fastener was added to the flaps. The tightening tabs at the hips disappeared, replaced by a draw-



Veste de saut mle 1947/56



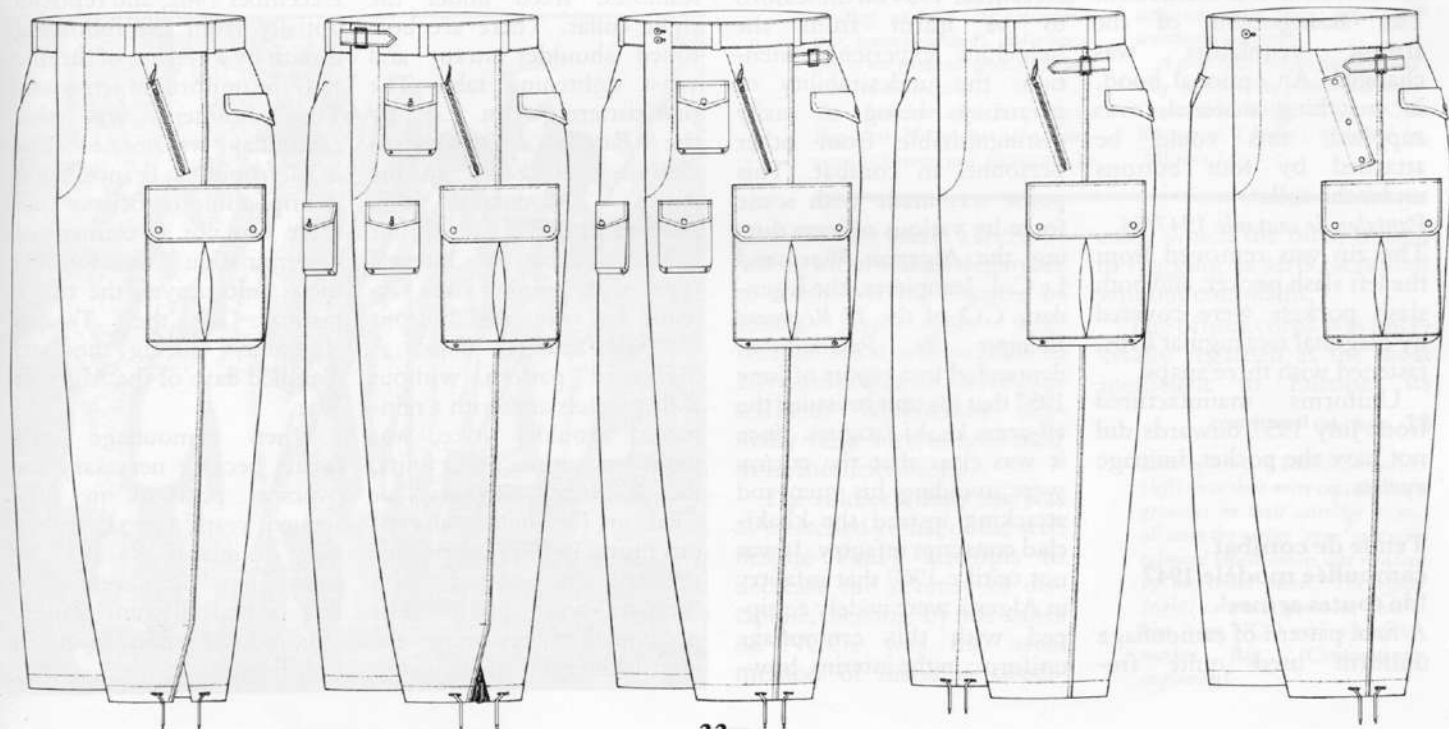
Left:

Mle 1947/56 smock with front and pockets open to show internal arrangement.

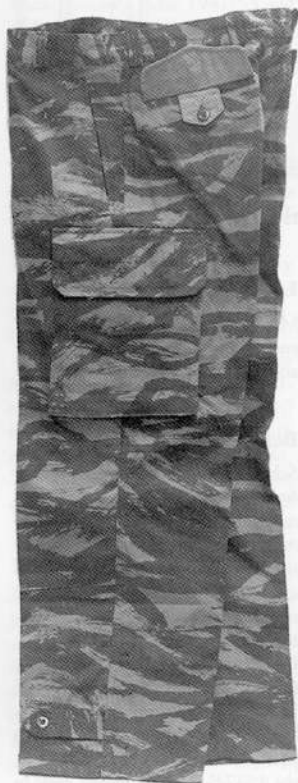
Below:

Schematic drawings showing the development of the trousers of the camouflage uniform for airborne troops; NB these, and the schematics of the smocks, are not presented as true scale drawings, but as clarified guides to recognition features.

(1) Pantalon de saut mle 1947; (2) pantalon de saut mle 1947/51 'modèle tropical'; (3) pantalon de saut mle 1947/52; (4) pantalon de saut mle 1947/53 — the 1947/54 model varied only in having a visible button where the fly crossed the waistband; (5) pantalon de saut mle 1947/56. (All schematic drawings by Christa Hook).



The tenue de combat camouflée mle 1947 'de toutes armes' continues to be worn, in lightened and retailed models, by French airborne and other troops for some overseas postings. This example is illustrated with the 'bicycle badge' paratrooper's brevet, the regimental badge of the 2^e REP, and gold captain's ranking. The portrait shows it worn by Lt.Col. Philippe Erulin, CO of the 2^e REP, during the latter stages of the rescue mission to Kolwezi, Zaire in May 1978. (Wayne R. Braby)



quently by French paratroopers was this camouflaged version of the standard French Army 'all arms' combat fatigues worn in dark khaki by most French and French Union troops in Indochina and Algeria.

A decision to extend camouflage clothing, in principle, to all troops was taken by the *Commission de la Tenue* in May 1954. In fact the decision seems to have been anticipated: a camouflage version had been seen in Indochina at the beginning of that year, and some examples are dated 1953. A report of December 1954 on the lessons to be learnt from the Indochina experience mentions the undesirability of paratroops being so easily distinguishable from other personnel in combat. This point was made with some force by various officers during the Algerian War; and Lt.Col. Jeanpierre, the legendary CO of the 1^{er} Régiment Étranger de Parachutistes, demanded in a report of June 1957 that his unit be issued the all-arms khaki fatigues, since it was clear that the enemy were avoiding his men and attacking instead the khaki-clad conscript infantry. It was not until c.1960 that infantry in Algeria were widely equipped with this camouflage uniform; in the interim, how-

ever, several parachute units wore it as an expedient, presumably when the airborne versions were in temporarily short supply. The characteristics are as follows:

The jacket has an open, notched, 'shirt'-type collar, and a fly front concealing five buttons; two concealed under the right collar and one under the left permit the neck to be entirely closed by means of a small tab with two buttonholes, fixed under the right collar. There are buttoned shoulder straps and wrist tightening tabs. The first pattern (worn, e.g., by the 8^e Bataillon de Parachutistes Coloniaux 'Blizzard' in the Aurès Mountains in November 1957) had all four jacket pockets of internal type, with pointed flaps fastened by concealed buttons through internal flaps. A 'lightened' pattern, without skirt pockets and with a reinforced shoulder yoke, was worn by, among other units, the 1^{er} and 3^e Régiments de Chasseurs Parachutistes at various times. In 1954 a definitive version was ordered, with 'bellows'-type patch skirt pockets but retaining the internal breast pockets.

The matching trousers have two internal rear pockets with flaps *en accolade* concealing buttons, two plain side slash pockets, and two bellows cargo pockets on the thighs with rectangular flaps and two concealed buttons; there are buttoned tightening tabs at the ankle.

★ ★ ★

Camouflage uniforms for French airborne troops were withdrawn by a decision of 21 December 1962, and replaced initially from the following month by a version of the mle 1947/56 uniform in *vert armée*. The argument was that camouflage was not necessary in Metropolitan France; but it is impossible to believe that there was not an element of determination to humble these units, given the tragic history of the *Troupes Aéroportées* during the last, troubled days of the Algerian War.

When camouflage uniforms became necessary for overseas postings in subsequent years, a version of the *tenue de combat mle 1947 'de toutes armes'* has been used; this is basically unchanged, although the tailoring pattern is different. MI

string through the hem of the skirt. The tabs on the wrists were also discontinued, and the cuff hem was elasticated. The arrangement of the armpit ventilators was changed. An optional hood, in matching material, was supplied; this could be attached by four buttons under the collar.

Pantalon de saut mle 1947/56
The zip was removed from the left slash pocket; and both slash pockets were covered by diagonal rectangular flaps, fastened with three snaps.

Uniforms manufactured from July 1957 onwards did not have the pocket drainage eyelets.

Tenue de combat camouflée modèle 1947 'de toutes armes'

A final pattern of camouflage uniform used quite fre-

Russian Infantry at Austerlitz, 1805

PHILIP J. HAYTHORNTHWAITE
Paintings by GERRY EMBLETON

Continuing our occasional series of articles on the character, organisation, and uniforms of the major armies engaged at significant Napoleonic battles, we follow our examination of the French infantry at Austerlitz ('MI' No.15) with an introduction to the Russian army of Alexander I — an army soundly beaten, but nevertheless deserving credit for the efforts already made to undo some of the damage inflicted by the Czar's mad predecessor.

THE ARMY

Unlike the majority of European powers, the Russian military establishment was not concerned in the early wars of the French Revolution. Only in 1798 did the mad Czar Paul I (1754-1801) elect to join the fight against France, and only then largely for no better motive than the French occupation of Malta, the Czar having declared himself Grand Master of the Order of St. John! His influence upon Russia's mighty army had undone most of the modernisation achieved by Prince Potemkin in the last years of the reign of Catherine the Great (1762-96), mainly from hatred of anything associated with his mother; so that under Paul, out-dated uniforms and tactics were re-introduced,

much to the army's detriment. Only after Paul's murder in 1801 and the installation of his son as Czar Alexander I was the damage redressed.

Nevertheless, the resources of the Empire were vast. In 1795 the College of War calculated the enrolled army at 541,741 men, plus about 150,000 cossack light cavalry which could be mobilised in wartime, the immense population permitting the maintenance of such vast forces (at his accession Alexander ruled almost 44 million people). Over half the male population were serfs tied to agricultural estates, with which they were bought and sold, and from among whom the army was raised by conscription. Enlistment was for life (25 years after 1793), with no

Captions to colour plates overleaf:

- (1) Musketeer, Narva Regt.; his cartridge box is pulled round to the front for easy access, he wears his undress cap, and his greatcoat is rolled and slung, serving as rudimentary protection against sword-cuts.
(2) Grenadier, Kiev Grenadiers. He wears the new shako, and his greatcoat, which in this case has regulation Inspection-coloured collar and regimentally coloured shoulder straps. Note how the cylindrical valise was carried at an angle across the back.
(3) Musketeer, Perm Regt.; he has not yet received the shako, and wears his old bicorn, minus the pompon.
(a) Undress cap, Little Russia Grenadiers, Ukraine Inspection; the blue tassel identifies the 3rd Company.
(b) Undress cap, Riazan Regt., Finland Inspection; the red tassel identifies the 2nd Company.
(c)-(f): Old Grenadier caps, many of which must still have been in service in 1805. Metal cap fronts were often in the button colour of the old uniform, and designs varied. (c) is taken from an extant cap; (f) resembles that worn by the Pavlov Regt., whose caps were handed down to succeeding generations complete with dents and holes made by blows and musket balls, 600 remaining in use as late as 1917. The other caps show variations: (e) has the 'old' colouring of the Kursk Regt., with a white back, green band, white metal plate and yellow/black piping; (d) shows the 'new' pattern of the Perm Regt., with the rear in Smolensk Inspection colour and the band in regimental shoulder strap colour.
The caps of Fusiliers of Grenadier regiments were much squatter than the pattern shown.
(4) Grenadier, Jaroslav Regt., wearing an 'old' cap (raspberry rear, green headband), and a variation of the greatcoat without facing-coloured distinctions.
(5) Musketeer, 3rd Bn., Narva Regiment. His musket has a waterproof lock cover; and, unusually, he carries the bayonet scabbard — normally these were not taken on campaign, the bayonet being permanently fixed.
(6), (7): Musketeers in greatcoats of the Kursk (left) and Riazan Regts., the former wearing the old bicorn stripped of ornaments — apparently a common campaign practice.
(g) The infantry shako.
(h) Variation with the leather neck-protector, abolished in 1812.
(i)-(k): Pompons of, respectively, the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Bns. — the coloured centres varied with each regiment.
(l)-(o): Sword knot tassels showing company distinctions in the fringes: white, red, sky blue and orange for 1st to 4th Cos. respectively. The Inspection colours of the 'bells' are Ukraine, Dniester pre-1805, Finland, Smolensk.
(p)-(r): Coat details of (p) Vladimir Regt., Dniester Inspection; (q) Apcheron Regt., Brest Inspection; (r) Riazan Regt., Finland Inspection.
On a prolonged campaign the coats must often have resembled (q) — patched and repaired in places, but whenever possible in correct colours: there are many references to Napoleonic troops repairing uniforms with cloth from coat tails, discarded coats, etc. From a distance they must have looked smart, but close up, a mass of darts and patches; the men lived in these coats, out of doors in all weathers. The artist has handled a Russian coat of the 1850s with many such patches.
The uniform cloth was supposed to be a very dark green (even black cloth was used for some jackets); but paintings show many different tones — dyes must have varied particularly for the quite subtle facings, and uniforms must have faded and weathered unevenly.
A good reference for further study may be found in plates in Patrice Courcelle's series 'Ceux Qui Bravaient l'Aigle', reviewed in 'MI' No.14.



provision for leave; a recruit's family mourned his departure as death, for the chances of seeing him again were remote. As it was possible to buy substitutes for those conscripted, landowners normally only surrendered their most inefficient serfs.

The soldier's daily life was as wretched as that of the serf; despite Paul's attempts to decrease the severity of discipline, beating by the canes of NCOs was the usual method of instilling obedi-

ence, which the men, inured to flogging as serfs, accepted without complaint.

The officer corps was universally regarded as the most inefficient in Europe, its

continued on page 38

Line infantry, c.1800; Grenadiers (left) wear their mitre caps and have grenades on their cartridge boxes; all wear the earlier 'open' coat with coloured lapels which was replaced by the closed jacket. The officer (right) carries a spontoon; next to him is an NCO with a battalion marker flag. (Contemporary engraving).





members largely minor gentry and its higher ranks the preserve of the nobility, so that chances of promotion were limited. Largely uneducated and usually untrained, the officers were brave but inept — spending more time drinking, gambling and sleeping than training their men, as one observer remarked.

Nevertheless, from such unpromising material was forged a formidable army, possessing astonishing fortitude and blind obedience to orders, and a total reverence for Czar, religion and

motherland. Living under the most miserable of conditions and with the most appalling rations (in 1805 an infantryman's annual maintenance, excluding grain, cost 9½ rubles — 2½ rubles less than the cost of his uniform!), they behaved like machines which only death could halt. Marbot wrote with incredulity of Golymin (1807), where Russian regiments marched to within 25 paces of the French musketry, yet the many who fell wounded made not a sound, having been forbidden to make a noise. Well might the English observer, John Spencer Stanhope, remark: 'I found them a fine hardy race, almost insensible to pain; they were, indeed, men of iron. . . though I witnessed the sufferings of many of their wounded men, I do not think that I ever heard a single one utter a groan. They really seemed to be made of different stuff from other men; their frames and

sinews were, apparently, as hard as their minds'⁽¹⁾.

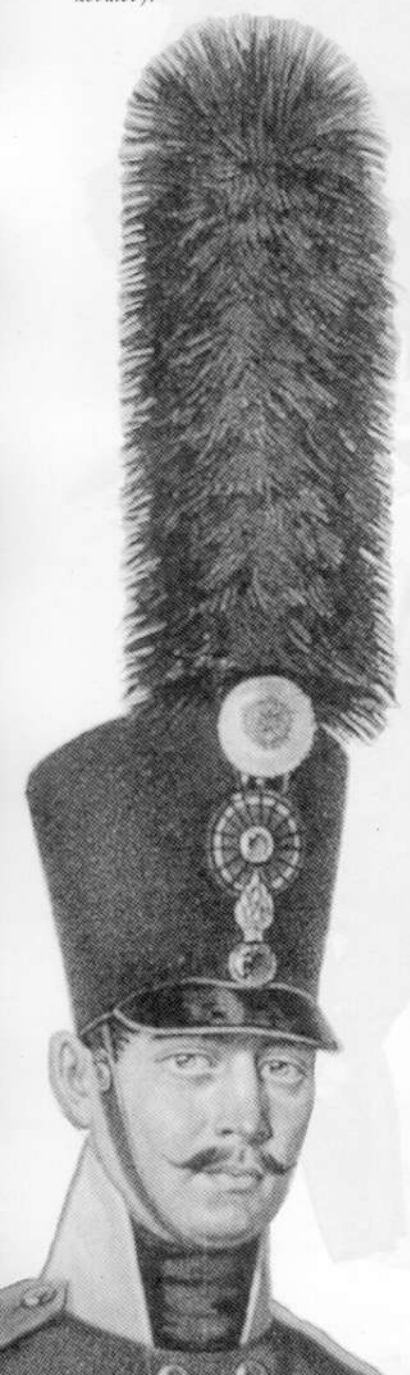
Upon his accession Alexander I began to repair the mad Czar's damage; though the process took some time, it is interesting to note the improvement between 1799 and 1805. Most of the 'foreign' commentaries on the Russian army concern the post-1805 period, the most familiar (at least in English) being Sir Robert Wilson's two books⁽²⁾; but a witness who served alongside the Russians in both 1799 and 1805 was Sir Henry Bunbury. In 1799 the Russians were regarded as idle, inefficient, plundering drunkards, as an anonymous British witness colourfully remarked of those in the Netherlands that year: 'The Russians is people as has not the fear of God before their eyes, for I saw some of them with cheeses and butter and all badly wounded, and in particklar one man had an eit days clock on his back and

fitting all the time which made me to conclude and say all his vanity and vexation of spirit'⁽³⁾.

Bunbury wrote with surprise at the difference between the Russians of 1799 and those of 1805: 'Those who had served with us in Holland were exactly the stiff, hard wooden machines which we have reason to figure to ourselves as the Russians of the Seven Years' War. Their dress and equipments seemed to have remained unaltered; they waddled slowly forward to the tap-tap of their monotonous drums; and if they were beaten they waddled slowly back again, without appearing in either case to feel a sense of danger, or the expediency of taking ultra tap-tap steps to better their condition.

'But I must do their troops in 1805 the justice to say that

The 1805 shako showing Grenadier distinctions of tall, bushy black plume and a grenade below the cockade. (Engraving after Viskovatov).



⁽¹⁾Superior numerals refer to notes at the end of this article.

Russian infantry regiments present at Austerlitz

Regiment	Inspection	Collar/cuffs	Shoulder straps	Pompon centre	Halberd-shafts & drumsticks
Fanagoria Grenadiers	Smolensk	white	white	white	white
Kiev Grenadiers	Ukraine	pink	white	white	white
Little Russia Grenadiers	Ukraine	pink	red	white	black
Apcheron Archangel	Brest	straw yellow	raspberry	light green	black
Azov	Lithuania	light green	light green	turquoise	black
Boutirsk	Brest	straw yellow	turquoise	red	yellow
Briansk	Kiev	raspberry	white	turquoise	black
Galitz	Ukraine	pink	raspberry	light green	coffee
Jaroslav	Ukraine	pink	turquoise	—	—
Kursk	Dniester	dark green	yellow	turquoise	yellow
Moscow	Smolensk	white	pink	pink	black
Narva	Kiev	raspberry	red	red	white
New Ingermanland	Kiev	raspberry	pink	light green	white
Novgorod	Dniester	dark green	pink	lilac	coffee
Old Ingermanland	Kiev	raspberry	raspberry	white	white
Perm	Brest	straw yellow	red	yellow	white
Podolsk	Smolensk	white	raspberry	yellow	white
Pskov	Brest	straw yellow	pink	—	—
Riazan	Lithuania	light green	yellow	white	yellow
Smolensk	Finland	yellow	yellow	white	white
Viazma	Ukraine	pink	yellow	yellow	yellow
	Kiev	raspberry	turquoise	white	coffee
				(or yellow?)	
Viborg	Brest	straw yellow	yellow	white	coffee
Vladimir	Dniester	dark green	white	light green	white

Note: it is not possible to determine which of the above was completely newly-equipped at Austerlitz; some may have retained their old caps and other outdated items; for example, prior to 1805 the distinctive colour of the Dniester Inspection was lilac.

in appearance at least... they had made a surprising progress; they were now well armed and equipped, and had very much the outward character of good German soldiers. They were regular and firm in their movements, but they were still slow; and their regimental officers appeared to be very deficient in intelligence and activity. Even some of their major-

Right:

Line infantry, c.1800. Whilst this depicts the earlier uniform, it shows a number of common campaign variations, including the removal of hat-ornaments and the use of hide knapsacks. The officer (left) carries a spontoon; the taller mitre cap is worn by a Grenadier and the shorter by a Fusilier, though the latter is portrayed rather too tall. (Engraving after L. Ebner).

Below:

Infantry officer, showing the bicorne and full ornaments, and the lace-edged shoulder straps. (Engraving after Viskovatov).



The Grenadier mitre; this illustration shows the Pavlov Regt. c.1806. (Engraving after Viskovatov).



NCOs of the Pavlov Regt. c. 1805, depicting the quartered pompon (also worn on the shako), the lace edging to collar and cuffs, and (centre) the partizan. The cane was usually carried in the manner shown, suspended from a button on the jacket. (Engraving after Viskovatov).

generals were little better than semi-barbarians, ignorant, sensual, selfish, and perhaps venal . . . as brave as the soldiers may be, I cannot regard their armies as very formidable out of their own country, or in a protracted campaign. Their hospitals and commissariat were . . . deplorably bad; they are always in want of money, nor ever have they credit . . . ⁽⁴⁾

The criticism of the higher command was valid throughout the period; in 1812, for example, Admiral Chichagov dismissed Gen. Markov who confused roads and rivers on a map! Bunbury's account of the Russian commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean in 1805 he regarded as typical: Gen. Lacy (of Irish descent) 'had been, no doubt, a brave and meritorious officer: but he was now between seventy and eighty years of age, and he showed no trace of ever having been a man of talent or information . . . he spoke the English language (though he had never visited the shores of Erin) with the strongest brogue I ever heard . . . At the councils of war . . . he used to bring his nightcap in his pocket, put it on, and go to sleep while others discussed the business . . . his Emperor had attached to Lacy, as his chief of staff, a certain General Oppermann . . . an intriguer, and he left an impression on one's mind of his not being too honest'⁽⁵⁾.

THE REGIMENTS

Under Paul I, Russian regiments were named after their colonel. Alexander returned to naming them after a town or province, giving a sense of continuity and local identity; and until the expansions of 1812 it was usual for a colonel to spend many years in com-



mand, so that his men regarded him as a father-figure. Until 1806 the regiments were grouped in 'Inspections' or inspectorates, each having its distinctive facing colour; there were no permanent organisations larger than the regiment, which created appalling problems when they were ordered on active service.

Upon Alexander's accession there existed both Line infantry (or 'Musketeer') and Grenadier regiments, from April 1802 with three battalions each. Each Musketeer regiment had one Grenadier and two Musketeer battalions; each Grenadier regiment had one Grenadier and two Fusilier battalions. Each battalion had four companies, one of which in Musketeer and Fusilier battalions was of

Grenadiers. In 1805 there were 77 Musketeer regiments (plus two battalions) and 13 Grenadier regiments, each with 2,256 men.

THE UNIFORMS

Among Alexander's reforms was a total overhaul of the infantry uniform, replacing the earlier 18th-century-style open coat with a dark green jacket, closed to the waist, with a high collar and cuffs of the Inspection colour and with shoulder straps coloured according to regimental seniority; turnbacks were red for all. The number of regiments under each Inspection varied between three — e.g. Finland, Orenburg, Siberia Inspections — and 11 — Dniester Inspection. Most had six to ten. The seniority sequence of shoulder strap

colours varied, but the first five in each Inspection normally, though not invariably, wore red, white, yellow, raspberry and turquoise respectively. There were two rows of six buttons on the breast, three to each green cuff-flap, one to each shoulder strap and one on each pair of turnbacks, the buttons usually a copper shade. In winter white breeches were worn with black knee-boots, and in summer with white or black gaiters.

Musketeers wore bicorne hats until 1805, when they adopted a black felt shako, widening slightly towards the top. The introduction of the new headdress was probably somewhat delayed; the Pavlov Grenadiers, for example, still had not received the shako by the Battle of Fried-

land (1807), and in commemoration of their bravery in that action were ever after permitted to retain their old caps. The shako bore a black cockade with orange edge and brass button; and a woollen pompon which was white for a regiment's 1st Battalion, yellow for the 2nd and red for the 3rd, with a regimentally-coloured centre. The black leather chinstrap buckled at the right ear. Grenadiers wore metal-fronted mitre caps until 1805, the back in the Inspection colour and the headband in the shoulder strap colour; their new shakos bore a brass grenade below

the cockade and a very bushy 20-in. black plume. Queues were retained until 1806, but powdered only on special occasions.

Equipment consisted of a black leather cartridge box at the right hip, on a wide white leather shoulder belt; the box bore a brass circular plate embossed with the Imperial eagle, with small grenade badges in the corners for Grenadiers. The white leather waist belt had a rectangular brass buckle and supported a short sabre with slightly-curved blade, brass hilt, black or dark brown leather scabbard, and white woollen knot

with the 'bell' in the Inspection colour and the fringe in company colour (white, red, sky blue or orange). The knapsack was a cylindrical black leather valise on a white belt over the left or right shoulder, with a white metal mess tin attached.

The **undress cap** resembled the French *bonnet de police*, in dark green with the headband in the Inspection colour, piped in the shoulder strap colour, with a tassel of

Russian infantry officers in a variety of orders of dress; these examples all conform to the St. Petersburg Inspection, whose colour was red.

(1) Plain, un-ornamented, single-breasted coat often worn on campaign, here with shoulder straps removed; plain bicorne; riding overalls of personal acquisition. All turnbacks were red; the red collar and cuffs are the Inspection colour.

(2) The same coat, but here showing uncoloured collar and cuffs — although officially green facings were the distinction of Jäger regiments. The caped greatcoat was usually green, but sometimes grey; they were often lined white, and sometimes piped in colour. The undress cap is the *furashka*, a non-regulation item.

(3) The *surtuk*, a frock-cum-greatcoat, with white-lined lapels showing.

(4) Full dress uniform, with decorated hat, gorget, and laced shoulder straps (here in the light green of the Lithuania Regiment). White-grey 'gaiter-trousers' were another alternative to the ordinary white breeches and knee boots.



Grenadiers c.1804-05, showing the rear of the infantry equipment — the cartridge-box with additional grenade badges, and the mess tin atop the valise — and the greatcoat. (Engraving after Viskovatov).

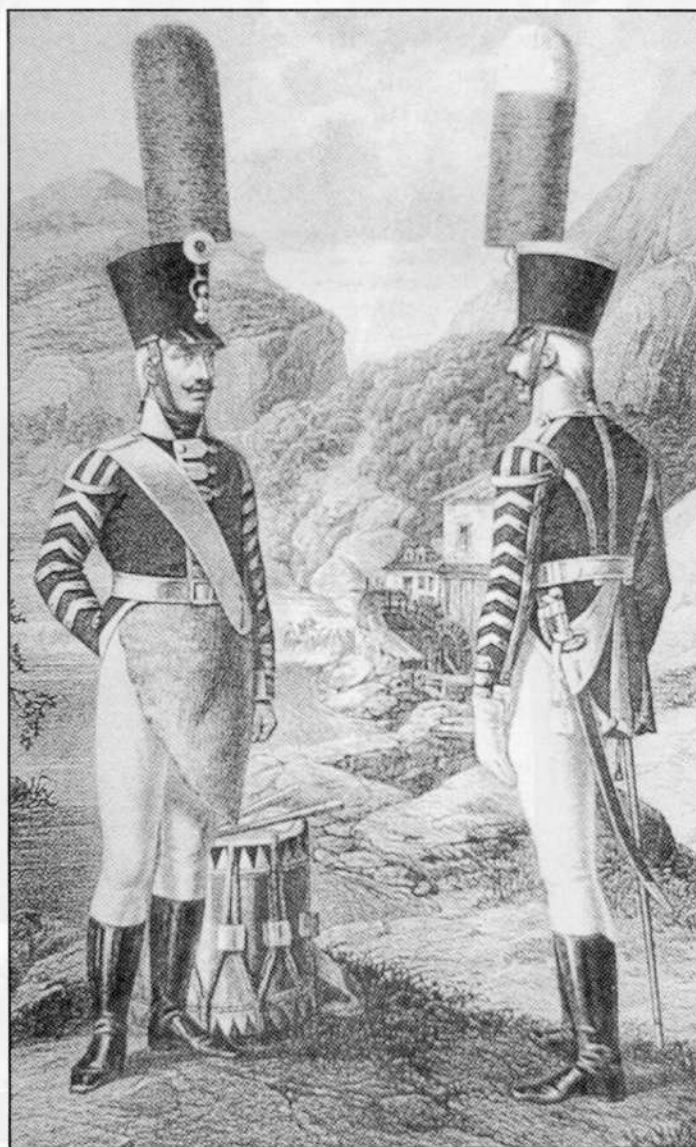
Below

Grenadier drummer (left) and NCO musician. Musicians wore the ordinary uniform with the addition of white lace and laced shoulder-wings; plumes were red or white over red for the regimental band; NCO pompons were quartered red and white. Equipment was white leather, but the drum-apron usually brown hide; the drums were brass with white cords and hoops painted in green and white triangles. (Engraving after Viskovatov).

company colour with fringe of mixed Inspection colour and dark green. The **great-coat** (*shinel*), looser and more comfortable than the jacket and often worn in its stead, was made of brownish-grey cloth (in differing shades), single-breasted, and usually with collar and shoulder straps coloured like those of the jacket.

NCOs' rank distinctions consisted of a quartered shako pompon, the sides white and the upper and lower sections mixed black and orange; and gold lace on the upper edge of the shako, on the front and lower edges of the collar, around the top of the cuff and down the forward-facing edge of the flap. For Grenadiers, the top of the plume was white with a vertical orange stripe over the top. A cane (often suspended from a button on the breast) acted as a sign of office, and most NCOs carried a partizan-like weapon with the shaft painted in the regimental colour.

Officers' uniforms resembled those of the rank-and-file, but with longer skirts. They retained the bicorne until 1807, though it is possible that those of the Caucasus Inspection abandoned it as early as 1805. The black bicorne had a black and gold cockade, gold loop and gilt button, silver and orange corner tassels and a black cock-feather plume. Further marks of rank were lace-edged shoulder straps (epaulettes were adopted only in 1807); a large silver gorget (gilt for field ranks) bearing a



gilt crowned trophy of arms with a white-enamelled centre bearing a black and gold double eagle; and a silver sash, often wrapped twice around the waist, with three interwoven lines of black and orange and two large silver tassels. Their arms were a straight-bladed *épée* with gilt hilt with shell-guards, urn pommel and single knuckle-bow, a grip bound with silver wire, with a gilt-mounted black leather scabbard, and a silver knot with black and orange intermixed. Officers carried a cane and junior ranks a spontoon, with shafts coloured like the NCO's partizans, until 1807. **MI**

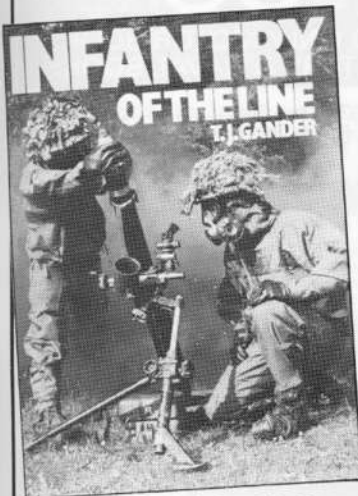
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- (1) *Memoirs of Anna Maria Wilhelmina Pickering*. . . Extracts from the Journals of her Father John Spencer Stanhope. . . (London, 1903, p.529).
- (2) *Brief Remarks on the Character and Composition of the Russian Army, and a Sketch of the Campaigns in Poland in the Years 1806 and 1807* (London, 1810); and *Narrative of Events during the Invasion of Russia by Napoleon Bonaparte, and the Retreat of the French Army* (London, 1860).
- (3) *Recollections of the British Army*, in *Colburn's Military Magazine*, February 1836; Sir John Fortescue (*History of the British Army*, IV [London, 1906] p.677) believed that the author belonged to the 35th Foot.
- (4) *Narrative of some Passages in the Great War with France 1799-1810* (1854; 1927 edn. pp.145-46).
- (5) *ibid.* p.127.

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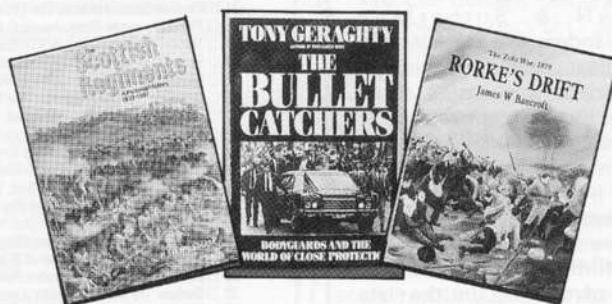
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GALLERY

Stefan Batory

RICHARD BRZEZINSKI
Paintings by RICHARD HOOK

Thanks to Bram Stoker's Gothic fantasy *Dracula*, the region of Transylvania is today linked inseparably in the popular imagination with vampires. In fact the associations between vampire legend and Stefan Batory are stronger than most. In his lifetime — 1533–86 — reports of vampires circulated freely in Transylvania; and much of the later accretion of myth

can be traced directly to the family of this sinister nobleman. His family badge of three wolf's fangs has obvious resonances; and, notoriously, in 1610 his niece Elizabeth Nadasdy was convicted of murdering 650 young girls and bathing in their warm blood in the belief that it would preserve her youth. The importance of Batory is, however, firmly

based on military achievement.

Stefan Batory (in Hungarian, Istvan Bathory) was born on 27 September 1533, the son of the *voivode* ('warlord') of Transylvania, who had been among the king of Hungary's most faithful supporters. Like most sons of wealthy Eastern European nobles Batory was educated in the West: at Padua university he acquired a taste for all things Italian, and at the Imperial court in Vienna he went through the traditional 'finishing school' as a page to the Holy Roman Emperor.

His military and political career was shaped from the outset by the problems of Transylvania. After the Turkish invasions in the early

16th century Transylvania and Hungary had become divided between the Turks and the Austrians. Batory's early career was spent in what was effectively a war of independence and reunification. From his first major command, in defence of the strategic fortress of Szatmar in 1557, he showed potential as a general. His unique knowledge of the disputed regions, and experience at the Imperial court, fitted him for success at peace conferences in Vienna. Rising quickly, by 1564 he was overall commander of the Transylvanian army, and led many campaigns there and in Hungary. On 25 May 1571, with the support of the Ottomans, he was elected prince of Transyl-

Left:

Stefan Batory, in a 1580s Austrian engraving made for Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol. Ferdinand was one of the first great armour collectors; he sent letters to the famous commanders of Europe, asking for examples of their armour and for details of their military exploits, and these flattering requests were seldom refused. Ferdinand later published an album depicting them wearing the donated armours, from which this plate is taken. The figure is based on two sources: the armour itself, and a good portrait, probably the 1583 painting by Marcin Kober. Two artists are known to have worked on most of Ferdinand's album, Dominik Custos and Giovanni Battista Fontana. Ferdinand's armours now form the core of the vast Vienna armour collection.

Right:

Stefan Batory's superb 'hussar' half-armour, his gift to Archduke Ferdinand. The black and gold decorated armour is of a style typical of Southern Germany in the 1560s, and is completed by an oriental helmet. It consists of tassets and gorget fitted to an articulated cuirass. Such segmented armours and oriental helmets were extremely popular among wealthy Hungarians and Poles. (Kunsthistorischesmuseum, Vienna)



vania. Four years later, much to his surprise, he was elected king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania by the Polish nobility, who were impressed by his military prowess.

Polish anarchy

In April 1576 Batory made a ceremonial entry into Cracow for his coronation, accompanied by 1,000 veteran Transylvanian and Hungarian infantry and 500 husars. He was determined to take his new crown seriously; and confrontation with the restless Polish nobility was not long coming. At the first meeting of the Polish government, Batory declared in fierce terms that he was not content to be a puppet:

'It was at your request that I came here. It was you who placed the crown on my head. . . I wish to rule, and will not let anyone pick my nose'.

Uncompromising words were followed by even more drastic deeds, as Batory took hold of the rusty machinery of the Polish-Lithuanian state and cranked it into motion.

His first task was dealing with a rebellion by Danzig (Gdansk) against Polish rule. The port had grown rich by controlling Poland's grain trade. Batory quickly laid siege; but Danzig only submitted finally in 1578, after the king diverted trade through the rival port of Elbing. This freed Batory to tackle Poland's most pressing problem: the expansionist Muscovites.

THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGNS

Batory's greatest achievement was victory over Tzar Ivan IV 'the Terrible'. Ivan's megalomaniac struggle to throw off the Asiatic backwardness of Muscovy and to 'gather in the Russias' to form a single empire depended on access to the Baltic Sea. By 1576 Ivan had finally captured most of the territory of modern Latvia, with its excellent ports. His dream seemed near reality; but he had not bargained on an opponent like Stefan Batory.



In three campaigns, culminating in three epic sieges at Polotsk (1579), Wielkie Luki (1580) and Pskov (1581), Batory retook all the territory captured by Ivan during 40 years of westwards expansion. By so doing he earned Poland a breathing-space of more than a century before she eventually succumbed to foreign domination. Ivan, shattered by his losses, died soon afterwards.

By 1583 Batory himself was dreaming grandiose dreams. He planned an alliance with the new Tzar to quash the troublesome Tatars in the Crimea, and then to take on the Turks. But the Polish nobility, always fearful that Batory would take more power over Poland, refused to finance further ventures. In December 1586 Batory died suddenly, giving rise to talk of poison. His attempts to govern the Polish state over the heads of the jealously independent nobility had won him few friends; paradoxically, the man who did so much for Poland was not, in his lifetime, a popular king.

MILITARY REFORMS

After decades of war in Transylvania, Batory understood the value of a combination of arms; and his introduction of major improvements to the cavalry-mad Polish army underpinned his victories.

He set about the infantry first. In 1578 he introduced the Polish *wybraniecka* (drafted) peasant infantry, to be dressed in regulated blue-grey Hungarian *haiduk*-style

uniform. (Three years earlier he had introduced green-uniformed peasant infantry in Transylvania.) Though such uniforms had been worn in Poland at least 20 years earlier, this is the earliest recorded occasion in Poland when uniforms in the modern sense — of a set colour and cut — were worn as a statutory requirement. In an age when European colonels, for decades to come, were still to dress and arm their units locally, Batory centralised the distribution of uniform-cloth and weapons. Estimates survive of the cost of uniforming all the 40,000 infantry he planned to raise for the proposed Turkish campaign of 1584. It would be 50 years before Gustavus Adolphus dressed his Swedes in uniform jackets, and another 20 before such innovations reached Britain and France.

To offset Poland's shortage of native infantry Batory brought in thousands of his own Transylvanians and Hungarians. He hired additional mercenary infantry from Germany, and to a lesser extent from Italy, France, Belgium and Scotland. Though he may not have actually introduced them into Polish service, he also had a hand in the development of the excellent infantry of the fiercely independent Ukrainian Cossacks, the *Zaporozhians*; the earliest surviving 'Register' of 500 Cossacks dates from his reign.

Batory put equal stress on the importance of artillery. His Italian connections enabled him to attract many able gunners from that country. Five of his gun foundries are known in Transylvania; but it was his reform of Polish artillery which reached the proportions of legend, livening the talk around campfires for decades to come. Even the old Scots mercenary Monro tells of the incendiary balls from Batory's cannon setting fire to wooden Muscovite fortifications, in his book written in 1637 — half a century after the event.

The feats of Batory's Hungarian engineers in building

Left:

Batory's shishak (*Zishägge*, *szyszak*) helmet — a Turkish type much favoured in Central and Eastern Europe. It has separate neck and cheek guards, an adjustable nose guard, and a pointed steel skull decorated in black and gold with Persian designs. Such helmets were the direct forerunners of the 'Pappenheimers' and 'lobster-tail pots' of the Thirty Years War, 1618-48. (Kunsthistorischesmuseum, Vienna)

The reconstructions on the back cover, by Richard Hook, show Stefan Batory as (top) Prince of Transylvania, 1571-75. He wears the long garments so typical of Eastern Europe; the outer is lined with sable, the inner is richly brocaded. Eye-witnesses describe Batory as wearing such dress on state occasions. The costume is completed by silk hose, yellow Eastern European ankleboots with metal-shod heels, a fur hat with jewelled clasp and egret or heron feathers, and a gilded Hungarian sabre. Our reconstruction is based on a recently-discovered full-length oil portrait of the 1570s, by an as yet unidentified artist. Though this is certainly Batory's finest portrait it was unknown in Poland until 1973, when the West German government donated it to the rebuilt Royal Castle in Warsaw, destroyed in 1939.

(Bottom) Stefan Batory as King of Poland, during the Muscovite campaigns of 1579-82. He wears the 'hussar' armour which he donated to Archduke Ferdinand's collection; it also appears in a famous 19th-century painting of Batory at the siege of Pskov, by Jan Matejko. Though there is no direct evidence that Batory wore this armour in Muscovy, we can be sure that, given the circumstances of the gift to Ferdinand, the king intended this armour to be associated with his greatest campaigns. The fine, highly-orientalised Hungarian sabre of the 1560s, which we add here, traditionally belonged to Batory, and may be the same sword shown in the 1570s portrait, perhaps rehilted. It is now in the Polish Army Museum.

wooden roads through hundreds of miles of trackless Russian forest were no less remarkable. They helped the king defeat an enemy which humbled even Napoleon — the Russian winter. **MI**

Sources

The standard biography, which includes a survey of Batory's portraits, is the work in French: *Etienne Batory*, ed. J. Dabrowski (Cracow, 1935). For a livelier discussion see Norman Davies's history of Poland, *God's Playground* (London, 1981).

Stefan Batory



*Prince of Transylvania,
1571-75*



*King of Poland,
1579-82*